

# PHILOGLOGIA



Naučno-stručni časopis za jezik, književnost i kulturu  
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## ■ UVODNA REČ

Kao redovni čitalac časopisa *Philologia* verovatno ste već uočili ekstenzivne promene u izgledu ovogodišnjeg broja. Razlozi za tehničke i druge modifikacije su višestruki, a pre svega su podstaknuti potrebom za modernizacijom časopisa i njegovo dalje integrisanje u mrežu međunarodnih časopisa. Veoma smo zadovoljni činjenicom da je časopis *Philologia* dostupan svim zainteresovanim kolegama u svom elektronskom izdanju, i da je kao takav uvršten u brojne baze podataka, rame uz rame sa vodećim časopisima iz oblasti društvenih i humanističkih nauka.

Ovaj broj donosi mnogo tehničkih novina, koje su vođene preporukama Ministarstva za nauku Republike Srbije u Aktu o uređivanju časopisa iz jula 2009. godine. Uredništvo časopisa je unelo sve one izmene preporučene ovim Aktom koje nisu kršile osnovnu koncepciju časopisa, budući da je on bio spreman za štampu pre donošenja ovog akta.

Ovaj tom časopisa sačinjen je od svojevrsnog mozaika radova iz već ustanovljenih oblasti koje *Philologia* promovira. Zadovoljstvo nam je što je Emerita rubriku otvorila Barbara Parti, vodeći svetski semantičar sa Univerziteta savezne države Masačusets u Amherstu, koja svojim radom rasvetljava neke manje istražene teme o adjektivima u slovenskim jezicima sa stanovišta formalne i leksičke semantike. Rubrika Nauka o jeziku donosi šest svežih pogleda na teme iz kontrastivne, kognitivne, korpusne i drugih grana lingvistike u sinergiji sa drugim graničnim naukama društveno-humanističke provenijencije, baveći se jezičkim pojavama u engleskom, japanskom, nemačkom i srpskom jeziku. Dodatna dva članka čine rubriku Metodika i didaktika, koji su posvećeni govornicima slovenskih jezika koji usvajaju germanske jezike. Nauka o književnosti takođe je zastupljena sa šest članaka, čiji opseg pokriva oblasti od arturijanske legende i originalnih analiza Šekspirovog opusa do ranih feminističkih studija na evropskom tlu u 20. veku i analiza američkih i škotskih autora savremenog doba. Dodatna dva članka čine rubriku Kultura i društvo. U njima su razrađeni i primenjeni noviji teorijski okviri u kojima se kreću kulturne studije, bilo samostalno ili u kontaktu sa naukom o književnosti. Pored navedenih naučnih i preglednih članaka, nakon kojih sledi izbor prikaza naučnih skupova i izdavačkih poduhvata u Srbiji i van nje, *Philologia 7* donosi i novu rubriku pod nazivom Naučni intervju. U broju pred vama, gost ove rubrike je još jedan Emeritus, nekadašnji profesor fonetike na Univerzitetu u Londonu, dr Džon Vels, koji razmatra pitanja promena u fonetskom sistemu i izgovoru britanskog engleskog.

Uređivački odbor časopisa želi da obavesti potencijalne autore o promeni imejl-adrese, koju ćemo koristiti za primanje priloga za naredne brojeve. Nova adresa je [philologia.journal@gmail.com](mailto:philologia.journal@gmail.com), a prilozima se mogu slati do 1. februara 2010. godine. Takođe molimo autore članaka da, pre nego što nam pošalju svoj prilog, obavezno konsultuju vebsajt Udruženja na [www.philologia.org.rs](http://www.philologia.org.rs), gde će moći da pronađu nove smernice za pisanje radova kao i elektronske verzije svih prethodnih brojeva časopisa.

*Glavni i odgovorni urednik, doc. dr Biljana Čubrović*



## ■ A WORD FROM THE EDITORIAL

*Philologia* is a peer-reviewed academic journal whose primary objective is to promote, cherish and advance research in the humanities and social science. The journal comes out annually, both in print and electronic edition. *Philologia* publishes articles, critical essays, book reviews, conference reports and translations grouped into the following sections: *Emeritus*, Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Literary Studies, Cultural Studies, Translation Studies, Scientific Interviews, Book Reviews and Conference Reports.

The seventh issue of the *Philologia* journal comes slightly modernized technically, which was partly inspired by the Guidelines provided by the Serbian Ministry of Science. It proudly offers to its readership over twenty-five contributions submitted by the scholars from all over the world on a wide range of topics. Most intriguing and much heated issues prevalent in the linguistic, literature and cultural studies of the twenty-first century are analysed by the *Philologia*'s contributors. Various innovative philological and non-philological theory-based and practical perspectives come from Australia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Spain, UK and USA.

The *Emerita* Section presents an article on the semantics of adjectives written by Barbara H. Partee, Distinguished University Professor of Linguistics and Philosophy Emerita at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, USA. Professor Partee ponders over the standard hierarchy of adjectives, and sheds new light on their current classification by looking into the Slavic languages. The Editorial wishes to express utmost gratitude to Professor Partee for her willingness to contribute, thus enriching the readers of the journal with her accounts of formal and lexical semantics.

The Editorial Board is much obliged to both international and Serbian members of the reviewing and advisory boards for their most insightful comments, constant effort and constructive criticism, without whose guidance this issue of the *Philologia* journal would not have seen the light of the day. Special thanks go to the Serbian Ministry of Science for providing continual financial assistance.

## ■ AKTIVNOSTI UDRUŽENJA

Članovi Udruženja *Philologia* tokom prethodne godine bili su usredsređeni na unapređenje kvaliteta časopisa, njegovo uvrštavanje u veći broj međunarodnih baza naučnih časopisa i dobijanje veće kategorije u nacionalnoj mreži naučno-stručnih časopisa. Nastavili smo širenje međunarodne razmene, pre svega potpisivanjem dokumenta o razmeni sa redakcijom španskog časopisa iz oblasti primenjene lingvistike *Vial – Vigo International Journal of Applied Linguistics* (ISSN 1697-0381) čiji je izdavač Univerzitet u Vigu, a nedavno i sa uredništvom indijskog časopisa *Synergies Inde* (ISSN 1951-6436) koji izdaju kolege sa Univerziteta u Bombaju, ostvarivši na ovaj način interkontinentalnu saradnju u oblastima humanističkih nauka. Pored Britanske biblioteke u Londonu i Kongresne u Vašingtonu, od ove godine časopis je stavljen u katalog Narodne biblioteke Australije (<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au>). Takođe od ove godine, časopis se nalazi u jednom od najvećih elektronskih bibliotekskih kataloga *WorldCat*.

Govoreći u nacionalnim okvirima, Matični naučni odbor za srpski jezik i književnost unapredio je kategoriju časopisa *Philologia* od šestog broja, tj. godišnjaka iz 2008. godine, u M52. Zadovoljstvo Redakcije časopisa ogleda se možda najviše u prisutnosti časopisa *Philologia* (od godišta 2003) u Srpskom citatnom indeksu (*SCIndex*), koji je razvijen kao dopuna međunarodnim (Thompson – ISI) citatnim indeksima.

Tokom akademske 2008/09 godine, po šesti put u nizu, organizovali smo prevodilačku radionicu za najbolje studente završnih godina anglističkih studija. Sa 15 najboljih akademaca radili su saradnici Katedre za anglistiku Filološkog fakulteta u Beogradu: mr Sergej Macura, mr Nataša Šofranac i mr Mirjana Daničić. Kursevi prevođenja u okviru radionice obuhvatali su brojne oblasti, između ostalih ekonomiju, pravo, bankarstvo, tehniku, istoriju, usmeno (konferencijsko) prevođenje.

U oktobru 2009. godine, Udruženje je objavilo četvrto, neznatno ažurirano, izdanje zbirke *English Entrance Exam Practice 1*, čija je osnovna namena da pomogne budućim studentima filoloških nauka da se što bolje pripreme za prijemni ispit iz engleskog jezika.

Veliku zahvalnost na stalnoj podršci Udruženje duguje Ministarstvu za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije, kao i brojnim kolegama koji nas bodre, podržavaju i uvek rado učestvuju u našim poduhvatima.



**BARBARA H. PARTEE\***  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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## ■ FORMAL SEMANTICS, LEXICAL SEMANTICS, AND COMPOSITIONALITY: THE PUZZLE OF PRIVATIVE ADJECTIVES<sup>1</sup>

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Semantics is an inherently interdisciplinary subject, with roots in linguistics, psychology, anthropology, logic and philosophy of language, artificial intelligence, and more; it is a subject that benefits from interdisciplinary perspectives. "Semantics" has meant different things in different disciplines, reflecting the many ways that different disciplines are concerned with meaning. Even within a single discipline, there are often disputes about the nature of meaning and the best way to study semantics, including disagreements about which kinds of data are most important, and even disagreements about such foundational issues as whether semantics is best viewed as a "branch of mathematics" or as a "branch of psychology" (Partee 1979).

In this paper I take the perspective of formal semantics, a field with roots in logic, philosophy of language, and formal linguistics (Partee 1996), and examine the interaction of word meaning and the compositional building up of sentence meaning. A central concern for the study of meaning is how the meanings of complex expressions are composed from the meanings of their constituent parts. Even without deciding just what meanings are, the fact that language users can understand novel sentences, of which there are a potential infinity, provides an argument that they must be governed by some version of the Principle of Compositionality, or Frege's Principle:

**Principle of Compositionality:** The meaning of a whole is a function of the meanings of the parts and of the way they are syntactically combined.

There have been challenges to this principle; my own view is that (a) there are so many variables in linguistic theories that it can hardly be a straightforwardly empirical claim, but (b) it makes a good working principle: apparent counterexamples are invitations to work hard to uncover new descriptive accounts or to make revisions somewhere in the theoretical framework.

The focus of the paper is the dynamic interaction of meaning and context. One important challenge faced by compositional approaches such as formal semantics is how to account for context-dependent meaning shifts without abandoning

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compositionality. We argue here that in fact compositionality can be seen as one of the driving forces in context-sensitive meaning shifts. Our case study will be the semantics of different kinds of adjectives. The interplay of context-dependence and intensionality will be illustrated in showing why *skillful* is intensional but *large* is not, even though both are “relative”. We will also take up the puzzles of “privative” adjectives like *fake* and “redundant” adjectives like *real*. The perspective we will take is how attention to the semantics of syntactic structure (compositional semantics) sheds light on the word meaning, and how compositional semantics, lexical semantics, and the context of the utterance all interact.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews the adjective classification summarized in Kamp and Partee (1995) and in Partee (1995). The Polish NP-splitting data (Nowak 2000) and the problem they pose for the familiar hierarchy are presented in Section 3. In Section 4 I propose a solution to the problem presented in Section 3 that offers some new insight into the interaction of lexical meaning, compositionality, and context.

## 2. THE SEMANTICS OF ADJECTIVES

There are many semantically interesting properties of adjectives. Here we focus on just a few central issues in the formal semantics of adjectives, concerning their semantic type and their logical properties. The central claim in work by philosophers of language in the 1970's (Clark 1970; Kamp 1975; Montague 1970a; Parsons 1970) was that some adjective meanings must be analyzed as functions from properties to properties. Adjectives that require such a semantics include *alleged*, *proposed*, *former*.

Since Montague (1970b, 1973) required a uniform semantic type for each syntactic category, he analyzed all adjectives that way. “Simpler” adjectives, those that are intersective (*purple*, *carnivorous*), or subsective (*skillful*, *good*), have their meanings further restricted by meaning postulates. Contemporary theories do not insist on a single type for all adjectives, and the intersective adjectives are now most often analyzed as simple one-place predicates, type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ .

Adjectives have been considered to form a hierarchy of classes, from the simplest intersective type to the privative adjectives like *counterfeit*, *fake*, Russian *fal'sivij* ‘false’, *mnimyj* ‘imaginary’, as we will show in more detail below. But data from Polish and Russian NP-splits can be used to argue for a radically different view of the privative adjectives, and a correspondingly different view of the adjective hierarchy.

### 2.1. MEANING POSTULATES FOR CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives like *carnivorous*, *rectangular*, *red*, and *German* are **intersective**: the informally stated meaning postulate in (1) holds for any N.

$$(1) \ ||\textit{carnivorous N}|| = \ ||\textit{carnivorous}|| \cap \ ||N||$$

Intersective adjectives are one-place predicates: a *red dress* is *red* and is a *dress*.

But *skillful* is not intersective, as shown by the invalid inference pattern in (2), familiar from the work of Kamp, Parsons, Clark, and Montague.

- (2) Premise: Francis is a skillful surgeon.  
 Premise: Francis is a violinist.  
 -----  
 Conclusion: Francis is a skillful violinist. INVALID

*Skillful*, *typical* are not intersective, but are **subjective**: Meaning Postulate (3) holds for any N.

- (3) Subjectivity:  $||\textit{skillful N}|| \subseteq ||N||$

The adjectives *former*, *alleged*, *counterfeit*, Russian *fal'sivyj* 'false', *mnimyj* 'imaginary' are neither intersective nor subjective. They are **nonsubjective**.

- (4) a.  $||\textit{former senator}|| \neq ||\textit{former}|| \cap ||\textit{senator}||$   
 b.  $||\textit{former senator}|| \not\subseteq ||\textit{senator}||$

**Nonsubjective** adjectives may either be **modal** – expressing possibility or other modal meanings -- or **privative**, entailing negation. The meaning postulate for privative adjectives is stated in (5).

- (5)  $||\textit{counterfeit N}|| \cap ||N|| = \emptyset$

There is no meaning postulate for the **modal** adjectives, since they have no entailments – an *alleged murderer* may or may not be a murderer, and similarly for adjectives like *possible*, *proposed*, *expected*, *doubtful*.

The adjectives thus form a hierarchy from intersective to subjective to nonsubjective, with the privative adjectives an extreme case of the nonsubjective adjectives.

### (6) Adjective hierarchy: Intersective < Subjective < Modal < Privative

Classification of examples is not always easy. Sometimes there is empirical uncertainty, e.g. whether *dead* is privative or intersective. The question, "Is a dead poet a poet?" does not have a context-independent answer. We answer differently in the context of the question, "How many poets are there in Amherst?" than in the context of the question, "How many poets are included in that anthology?" And sometimes different senses of an adjective fall into different classes: Russian *točnye časy* 'exact (accurate) watch' has an intersective sense of *točnyj*, while in *točnaja kopija* 'exact copy', *točnaja* is subjective. We have an intersective sense of *strogij* 'strict' in *strogij kostjum* 'strict (tailored) suit' and a subjective sense in *strogij učitel'* 'strict teacher'.

Among many debated points, one which has always been troubling is the question of whether a modifier like *fake* is really privative. One nagging problem, to which we

will offer a solution in Section 4, is the evident tension between the apparent truth of (7a) and the undeniable well-formedness and interpretability of (7b).

- (7) a. A fake gun is not a gun.  
b. Is that gun real or fake?

## 2.2. IS *TALL* INTERSECTIVE OR SUBJECTIVE?

An early argument for the importance of considering context-dependence in interpreting adjectives came from Kamp (1975), who argued that *tall*, which at first seems non-intersective, is really intersective but context-dependent. In section 2.1 above we indicated that the inference pattern (2) was a test of whether an adjective was intersective. By this test, it looks like vague adjectives like *tall* are non-intersective:

- (2') Premise: Tom is a tall 14-year-old.  
Premise: Tom is a basketball player.  
-----  
Conclusion: Tom is a tall basketball player. INVALID??

Kamp argued that *tall* is intersective but **vague** and context-dependent. One argument is that we can get the same effect as above without changing the noun, by changing other aspects of the context.

- (8) a. My 2-year-old son built a really tall snowman yesterday.  
b. The linguistics students built a really tall snowman last weekend.

Further evidence of a difference between truly nonintersective subjective adjectives like *skillful* and vague intersective adjectives like *tall* came from Siegel (1976), who observed that adjectives like *skillful* can take *as*-phrases, as in *He is skillful as a surgeon*, while adjectives like *tall* take not *as*-phrases but *for*-phrases to indicate comparison class: *He is tall for a 14-year-old, but not for a basketball player*.

An adjective can be nonintersective and *also* vague, like *good*, and then it can take both an *as*-phrase and a *for*-phrase: *He is very good as a diagnostician for someone with so little experience*.

## 3. MODAL AND PRIVATIVE ADJECTIVES AND NP-SPLITS

The phenomenon of “split NPs” in Slavic was brought to my attention by Anita Nowak (Nowak 2000). It has been studied by Siewierska (1984), Sekerina (1997), Gouskova (2000), Junghanns (2001), Melhorn (2001), Bašić (2004), Fanselow and Ćavar (2002), Kučerová (2007), and especially Pereltsvaig (2008). My earlier work on this topic uses Polish examples from Nowak; here I add Russian and Polish examples from Pereltsvaig (2008 and p.c.), Trugman (p.c.), and Rozwadowska (p.c.).

The Russian examples (9a-b) from Sekerina (1997) are typical “direct” and “inverse” NP-splits. Underlining indicates the parts of the split NP.

- (9) a. Čěrnjy on ljubit kofe. (Sekerina 1997)  
 black he likes coffee  
 ‘He likes black coffee.’
- b. Kofe on ljubit čěrnjy.  
 coffee he likes black  
 ‘He likes black coffee.’

The facts are that an NP consisting of Adj and N in Polish or Russian may be “split”, with either the Adj sentence-initial and the N sentence-final, or the N sentence-initial and the Adj sentence-final. Sequences of Adj’s can be sentence-initial; only a single element can be sentence-final. Examples of Polish NP-splits from Nowak (2000) (all actually PP-splits, which combine properties of NP-splits with constraints on where the preposition can end up) are given in (10 - 11) below, with the relevant constituents underlined.

- (10) a. Kelnerki rozmawiały o przystojnym chłopcu.  
 waitresses talked about handsome-LOC boy-LOC  
 ‘The waitresses talked about a handsome boy.’
- b. O przystojnym kelnerki rozmawiały chłopcu.  
 about handsome-LOC waitresses talked boy-LOC  
 ‘The waitresses talked about a handsome BOY’
- (11) a. Włamano się do nowego sklepu.  
 broke-in (one) REFLEX to new-GEN store-GEN  
 ‘Someone broke into the new store.’
- b. Do sklepu włamano się nowego.  
 to store-GEN broke-in (one) REFLEX new-GEN  
 ‘Someone broke into the NEW store.’

What is of particular interest here is that some adjectives can participate in the splitting construction and some cannot. According to Nowak’s judgments, intersective, subjective, and privative (!) adjectives can split easily enough. But nonsubjective modal adjectives cannot. The contrast is shown in (12) and (13).

- (12) a. Do rozległej weszliśmy doliny.  
 to large-GEN (we)entered valley-GEN  
 ‘We entered a large VALLEY.’
- b. Do doliny weszliśmy rozległej  
 to valley-GEN (we)entered large-GEN  
 ‘We entered a LARGE valley.’



- (13) \*Z \_\_\_\_\_ potencjalnym widzieli się kandydatem.  
 with potential-INSTR (they)saw REFL candidate-INSTR  
 'They met with a potential CANDIDATE'

But others disagree about modal adjectives; the data are apparently more complex, in Polish and in Russian. Some NP-splits with modal adjectives are fine, others are not.

- (14) O \_\_\_\_\_ potencjalnych rozmawiali korzyściach (Polish).  
 about potential they-talked benefits  
 They talked about potential benefits. (Rozwadowska, p.c.)

- (15) O \_\_\_\_\_ domniemanych rozmawiano przestępcach. (Polish)  
 about alleged it-was-talked criminals  
 (They) talked about alleged criminals. (Rozwadowska, p.c.)

- (16) \*Domniemanych spotkałismy złodziei. (Polish)  
 alleged we-met thieves  
 We met alleged thieves. (Rozwadowska, p.c.)

- (17) Potencjal'nym on byl kandidatom, ne bolee togo! (Russian)  
 Potential-INSTR he was candidate-INSTR, NEG more that-GEN  
 'He was a *potential* candidate, no more!' (Trugman, p.c.)

- (18) Predpologaemyx oni arestovali uže pjat' ubijc, a vot  
 Alleged they arrested already 5 murderers, and PRT  
 est' li sredi nix nastojaščij, kto znaet? (Russian)  
 is there among them actual, who knows?

'They already arrested five *alleged* murderers, and who knows whether there is an actual one among them.' (Trugman, p.c.)

- (19) Ožidaemye ne nastupili peremeny, xotja ožidali ix  
 Expected NEG arrived changes, although they-awaited them  
 dolgo i terpelivo. (Russian)  
 long and patiently  
 'The expected changes didn't come, although they had awaited them long and patiently.' (Trugman, p.c.)

Pereltsvaig (2008), using a substantial corpus of colloquial Russian, with intonation patterns verifiable for a substantial part including movies and their scripts, has reached the following conclusions: (i) In NP-splits, the first segment is either a contrastive topic or a contrastive focus. (ii) The same word orders are possible for contrastive topic examples and contrastive focus examples. (iii) Intonation reliably distinguishes the two types, with Intonation Contour 2 (IK-2) in Švedova (1980) for contrastive focus, and Intonation Contour 5 (IK-5) for contrastive topic<sup>2</sup>.

Pereltsvaig's conclusions are illustrated in Russian examples (20-23) below. Examples (20-21) have contrastive focus, and show intonation pattern IK-2, whether with scrambling or with split NP. Boldface indicates intonational prominence.

- (20) **Malinovogo** varen'ja ona mne prislala! (a ne klubničnogo)  
 raspberry jam she to-me sent! (and not strawberry)  
 'She sent me *raspberry* jam! (and not strawberry)'
- (21) **Malinovogo** ona mne prislala varen'ja! (a ne klubničnogo)  
 raspberry she to-me sent jam! (and not strawberry)  
 'She sent me *raspberry* jam! (and not strawberry)'

Examples (22-23) have contrastive topic, and have the intonation pattern Pereltsvaig calls IK-4 whether with scrambling or with split NP.

- (22) **Malinovogo** varen'ja ona mne prislala! (a klubničnogo Saše)  
 raspberry jam she to-me sent! (and strawberry to Sasha)  
 'She sent *raspberry* jam to *me*! (and strawberry to Sasha)'
- (23) **Malinovogo** ona mne prislala varen'ja! (a klubničnogo Saše)  
 raspberry she to-me sent jam! (and strawberry to Sasha)  
 'She sent *raspberry* jam to *me*! (and strawberry to Sasha)'

Pereltsvaig makes the crucial observation (Pereltsvaig, p.c.) that in all the good Russian examples of split NPs with **modal** adjectives, the modal adjective must have **contrastive focus**; other adjectives have no such restriction.

So the generalization so far is that intersective and subsecutive adjectives can freely participate in NP-split constructions. But modal adjectives are more restricted; they cannot split freely, although it seems that they can split when they are the contrastive focus.

But the surprising fact is that **privative** adjectives are as easy to split as intersective and subsecutive ones. Polish privatives, such as *fikcyjny* (fictitious), *wymyślony* (imaginary), *fałszywy* (fraudulent), easily split, in both contrastive topic and contrastive focus constructions. The Polish examples below are from Bożena Rozwadowska (p.c.):

- (24) **Fałszywy** był to alarm.  
 false was it alarm
- (25) **Fałszywe** znaleźliśmy banknoty.  
 false we-found banknotes
- (26) **Fikcyjne** zawarła małżeństwo.  
 Fictitious she-signed marriage

Russian privatives *fałšivyj* 'false, fake', *mnimyj* 'imaginary, false', *byvšyj* 'former' similarly split easily, whether contrastive topic or contrastive focus motivates the split:

- (27) **Fal'sivyi** on polučil diplom. (H. Trugman, p.c.)  
**False** he obtained diploma
- (28) **Mnimye** nam ne **nužny** geroi! (H. Trugman, p.c.)  
**Fake** to-US NEG **needed** heroes  
 'We don't need **fake (pretend)** heroes!'
- (29) **Byvšy** k nej priexal muž (... i ustroil scenu.)  
**Former** to her came husband (... and made a scene) (Trugman)

What is peculiar about this data in the light of the traditional classification outlined in Section 2 is that the NP-split phenomenon does not apply to a "natural class". It is unexpected for the intersective, subsective, and privative adjectives to pattern together in freely splitting, while the non-subsective modal adjectives have a much more restricted participation in the NP-split.

#### 4. PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION

The hypothesis I propose is that Nowak's data tells us that adjectives *fake* and *imaginary* aren't actually privative, but subsective, and that no adjectives are actually privative. In interpreting a question like (7b), repeated below, I hypothesize that we actually expand the denotation of *gun* to include both fake and real guns.

- (7) b. Is that gun real or fake?

In fact, even in (7a), it is reasonable to suppose that the first occurrence of *gun*, modified by *fake*, is similarly coerced, whereas the second, unmodified, occurrence is not.

- (7) a. A fake gun is not a gun.

Normally, in the absence of a modifier like *fake* or *real*, all guns are understood to be real guns, as is evident when one asks how many guns the law permits each person to own, for instance. Without the coerced expansion of the denotation of the noun, not only would *fake* be privative, but the adjective *real* would always be redundant<sup>3</sup>.

Kamp and Partee (1995), in discussing the "recalibration" of adjective interpretations in context, introduced a number of principles, including the following "Non-Vacuity Principle".

- (30) **Non-vacuity principle (NVP):**

In any given context, try to interpret any predicate so that both its positive and negative extension are non-empty. (Kamp and Partee 1995: 161)

The Non-Vacuity Principle applies not only to simple predicates but to predicates formed by combination of an adjective and a noun: these should

be interpreted in such a way that the ADJ + N combination is a non-vacuous predicate.

However, Kamp and Partee (1995) also argued, in part on the basis of clear examples like (31), that in ADJ + N constructions, one first interprets the noun in the given context (ignoring the adjective), and then “recalibrates” the adjective as necessary. This principle is expressed as the “Head Primacy Principle” in (32).

- (31) a. giant midget (a midget, but an exceptionally large one)  
 b. midget giant (a giant, but an exceptionally small one)

- (32) **The Head primacy principle (HPP):** In a modifier-head structure, the head is interpreted relative to the context of the whole constituent, and the modifier is interpreted relative to the local context created from the former context by the interpretation of the head. (Kamp and Partee 1995: 161)

In many cases, the Non-Vacuity Principle and the Head Primacy Principle cooperate to account for the observed results, including not only the examples in (31), but also the fact that the truth of (33b) below is compatible with a non-redundant use of the modifier in (33a).

- (33) a. This is a sharp knife.  
 b. Knives are sharp. (Kamp and Partee 1995: 162)

If the Head Primacy Principle were absolute, the proposed shift in the interpretation of the head noun under coercion by a privative adjective like *fake* or a “tautologous” adjective like *real* would be impossible. But there are other examples as well that suggest that the Head Primacy Principle is non-absolute. In particular, there is a large and productive class of “constitutive material” modifiers that occur in examples like *stone lion*, *wooden horse*, *velveteen rabbit*, *rubber duck*. In such examples we easily shift nouns from their literal meaning to a meaning “representation/model of ...”.

The perspective of Optimality Theory suggests that we can account for this situation by saying that the Non-Vacuity Principle outranks the Head Primacy Principle. We normally try to obey both. But if there is no reasonable way to obey the Non-Vacuity Principle without shifting the noun outside its normal bounds (as in the case of *fake* and *real*), then it may be shifted in such a way as to make the compound predicate obey the Non-Vacuity Principle. And if there is an extremely productive and “easy” shift of the noun that makes it satisfy the Non-Vacuity Principle, as in the case of “representations”, there too we can override the Head Primacy Principle.

So I suggest that no adjectives are privative (Partee in press). “Normal” adjectives are always subsective, and there should be some ways to identify “modal” adjectives as a special subclass, such that only they are not necessarily subsective.

If this hypothesis is correct, then the classification of adjectives can be much more neatly constrained. Adjectives are still functions from properties to properties in the

most general case, but in harmony with the traditional notion of *modifiers*, they are normally constrained to be subselective. We still need to allow for the ‘modal’ adjectives, which are not so constrained; the Slavic NP-splitting data provide fuel for a proposal to consider them syntactically as well as semantically distinct.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The adjective puzzles that I have been discussing illustrate several general principles. One is that we need to study lexical semantics and principles of semantic composition together; decisions about either may affect decisions about the other. More importantly, while contextually influenced meaning shifts pose challenges for compositionality, we can see that compositionality plays an essential role in constraining the kinds of meaning shifts that take place. We hold the principle of compositionality constant in working out (unconsciously) what shifts our interlocutors may be signaling. In the extreme case we (like children) depend on compositionality to figure out the meanings of novel words: if we can use contextual clues to guess what the whole sentence means, we can then “solve” for the meaning of the unknown word. Compositionality thus appears to be one of the most cognitively basic principles in the realm of semantics. While many important questions in the field remain open, I believe that the principle of compositionality has shown its value as a central working hypothesis guiding semantic research.

- 1 For my first introduction to Polish Split-NPs and answers to my first inquiries about them, I am grateful to Anita Nowak. For further discussion and suggestions, I am grateful to Meredith Landman, Maria Gouskova, Bożena Cetnarowska, Bożena Rozwadowska, Helen Trugman, Asya Pereltsvaig, Tanya Yanko, an anonymous reviewer, and audiences at several previous discussions of this work.  
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- 2 Tanya Yanko (p.c.) informs me that the contrastive topic actually has Intonation Contour IK-3 (with IK-1 on the corresponding focus).
- 3 This property of *real* is noticed in passing by Lakoff (1987).

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## SUMMARY

### FORMAL SEMANTICS, LEXICAL SEMANTICS, AND COMPOSITIONALITY: THE PUZZLE OF PRIVATIVE ADJECTIVES

The focus of the paper is the interaction of meaning and context with different kinds of adjectives. Adjective meanings are shown to be more constrained than was appreciated in earlier work. Facts about “NP-splitting” in Polish and Russian cast serious doubt on the standard hierarchy of adjectives, and the data become much more orderly if privative adjectives are reanalyzed as subsective adjectives. This revised account requires the possibility of coerced expansion of the denotation of the noun to which an adjective is applied. Compositionality can be seen as one of the driving forces in such context-sensitive meaning shifts.

**KEYWORDS:** Formal semantics, compositionality, coercion, context-dependence, adjectives, privative, subsective, Polish, Russian, NP-splits.

## BRIEF CV

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## ■ KOORDINATORI I VEZNI ADVERBIJALI KAO OBELEŽJA VEZE MEĐU REČENICAMA: PREVOĐENJE SA ENGLESKOG NA SRPSKI

### 1. UVOD

U engleskom jeziku veza među samostalnim rečenicama u tekstu može se obeležiti koordinativnim veznicima (koordinatorima), koji stoje na početku rečenice, i veznim adverbijalima<sup>1</sup> – najčešće su to prilozi i predložke fraze – koji stoje na početku ili unutar rečenice. I koordinatori i vezni adverbijali imaju svoje formalne korespondente<sup>2</sup> u srpskom jeziku. Korespondenti koordinatora su srpski koordinativni veznici, koji takođe stoje na početku samostalne rečenice<sup>3</sup>. Korespondenti veznih adverbijala su tekstualni konektori – prilozi, rečce, predložko-padežne konstrukcije i drugi izrazi koji pokazuju vezu među samostalnim rečenicama; i oni, kao i engleski vezni adverbijali, mogu se javiti na početku ili unutar rečenice.

Međutim, ova obeležja se sa engleskog na srpski jezik ne prevode uvek svojim formalnim korespondentima, već i na druge načine. Ilustrovaćemo to sledećim primerom:

- (1) The historian, the best sort of biographer, can only use the available evidence. But the historian is dealing with reality, not with the product of someone's imagination. But there is literary value and power in good historical biography [...]. (SH, 103)<sup>4</sup>
- (1a) A istoričari, koji su najbolji biografi, mogu da koriste samo raspoložive dokaze. [Ø]<sup>5</sup> Oni imaju posla sa stvarnošću, a ne s proizvodom nečije mašte. Dobru istorijsku biografiju, međutim, krasi i književna vrednost i snaga izraza [...]. (IzIs, 128)
- (2) It is worth bearing in mind the nostrums of political correctness when you are writing. Ask yourself: is there any gender, ethnic or class group that would be offended by my essay? But such terms as *mankind*, *man* and *woman* can be used in context. It is, however, perfectly proper to use the language of the historical actors themselves. (SH, 191)

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- (2a) Prilikom pisanja imajte u vidu potrebu političke korektnosti. Postavite sebi pitanje: da li će moj rad vredati rodna, etnička ili klasna osećanja neke grupe? [Ø] Reči kao što su *čovečanstvo*, *čovek* i *žena* mogu se koristiti u odgovarajućem kontekstu. Ali, sasvim je u redu koristiti se jezikom samih istorijskih ličnosti. (IzIs, 232)

Dakle, u primeru (1a) kao prevodni ekvivalent koordinatora *but* ne javlja se formalni korespondent (*ali*), već rečca *međutim*, a u primeru (2a) kao prevodni ekvivalent veznog adverbijala *however* ne javlja se formalni korespondent (*međutim*), već koordinatorski *ali*. U oba primera nalazimo i odsustvo prevodnog ekvivalenta koordinatorskog *but*, koje se može tumačiti kao *nulti tekstualni prevodni ekvivalent*.

Zato je cilj ovog rada da na primerima iz srpskih prevoda engleskih tekstova iz oblasti društvenih nauka ilustruje ove alternativne načine prevodenja. Najpre će biti reči o prevodenju koordinatorskog, a zatim o prevodenju veznih adverbijala.

## 2. PREVOĐENJE ENGLSKIH KOORDINATORA

Engleski koordinatori koji stoje na početku samostalne rečenice najčešće se prevode na srpski svojim formalnim korespondentima – odgovarajućim srpskim koordinativnim (naporednim) veznicima, što je slučaj u sledećim primerima:

- (3) The old culture reflected fundamental human needs while respecting natural limits. And it worked. (CAGE, 46)
- (3a) Stara kultura je odražavala osnovne ljudske potrebe, poštujući istovremeno prirodna ograničenja. I to se pokazalo uspešnim. (Glob, 61)
- (4) In the traditional economy, everyone knew they had to depend directly on family, friends, and neighbors. But in the new economic system, political and economic interactions take a detour via an anonymous bureaucracy. (CAGE, 39)
- (4a) U tradicionalnoj privredi svaki pojedinac je znao da neposredno zavisi od porodice, prijatelja i komšija. Ali u novom ekonomskom sistemu političke i ekonomske interakcije pošle su zaobilaznim putem, preko bezimene birokratije. (Glob, 53)
- (5) Were these upheavals signs of the beginning of the new age that they had spoken of back in Babylon? Or was it an indication of worse yet to come? (IOT, 195)
- (5a) Da li su ovi znaci za ustanak bili početak novog doba o kome se govorilo još u Vavilonu? Ili je to ukazivalo na to da najgore tek predstoji? (USZ, 245)

Dakle, koordinatorski *and* je preveden korespondentnim koordinatorskim *i*, koordinatorski *but* koordinatorskim *ali*, a koordinatorski *or* – koordinatorskim *ili*.<sup>6</sup>

Međutim, kao prevodni ekvivalenti engleskih koordinatorskih javljaju se i tekstualni konektori odgovarajućeg značenja koji se mogu smatrati semantičkim korespondentima,<sup>7</sup> kao u sledećim primerima:

- (6) Many observers believe that a series of related changes have occurred in postmodern societies: Cynicism has replaced the old optimism and ideals of progress. Identity politics has called into question the ideas of universal truths and absolute morals. And because people are more geographically mobile and can choose among a wide variety of consumer items, their identities have become fragmented and based on their consuming choices and lifestyles. (SA, 13)
- (6a) Mnogi smatraju da je u postmodernim društvima došlo do niza povezanih promena: cinizam je zamenio stari optimizam i ideale napretka. *Identity politics* dovela je u pitanje ideje o univerzalnim istinama i apsolutnim moralnim normama. Zatim, sve veća geografska pokretljivost ljudi i mogućnost da se bira među mnoštvom različitih potrošačkih proizvoda uzdrmala je i rascepkala njihov identitet, sada zansovan na potrošačkim izborima i raznolikim životnim stilovima. (SU, 34)
- (7) Unlike publishers and recording companies, Hollywood filmmakers cannot target their products to smaller, specialized audience segments, and they cannot afford overproductions as a primary strategy. Instead, in order to make a profit, they must create a product which appeals to large numbers of people internationally. And they must try to make each expensive blockbuster as successful as possible, and cannot leave much to chance. (SA, 99)
- (7a) Za razliku od izdavača i muzičkih kompanija, holivudske filmadžije ne mogu svoje proizvode da namene malim, specijalizovanim delovima publike, a ne mogu ni da pribegnu hiperprodukciji kao primarnoj strategiji. Da bi zaradili, oni moraju da naprave proizvod koji će se dopasti mnoštvu ljudi širom planete. Stoga, moraju da se potrudu da svaki skupi veliki hit bude što je moguće uspešniji, te ne mogu mnogo toga da prepuste slučaju. (SU, 163-4)
- (8) The earliest date that could possibly be given to this final editing would be the sixth century BC, since Hezekiah (king of Judah from 715 to 687 BC) is mentioned in 25:1. But it is more likely that the final editing of Proverbs was not completed until around the third century BC. (IOT, 114-5)
- (8a) Najraniji datum koji bi se mogao navesti kao datum konačne prerade bio bi 6. vek pre Hr., budući da se pominje (25 1) Jezekija (car Jude, 715-687. g. pre Hr.). Verovatnije je, ipak, da je proces prerađivanja knjige *Priča Solomonovih* okončan tek oko 3. veka pre Hr. (USZ, 139)
- (9) No one can deny the value of real education – the widening and enrichment of knowledge. But today in the Third World, education has become something quite different. It isolates children from their culture and from nature, training them instead to become narrow specialists in a Westernized urban environment. (CAGE, 36)
- (9a) Niko ne može da porekne vrednost pravog obrazovanja – proširivanja i obogaćivanja znanja. Međutim, obrazovanje je danas u Trećem svetu postalo nešto sasvim drugo. Ono odvaja decu od njihove kulture i od prirode, a umesto toga ih obučava da budu usko specijalizovani u zapadnom urbanom okruženju. (Glob, 48)
- (10) A corporation, because it is an “artificial person,” has inherent capacities that mortal citizens do not possess. For one thing, it can live forever. For another, a

corporation, unlike people, can exist in many places at once. Or it can alter its identity – chop off its arms or legs and transform itself into an utterly different “person.” Or it can sell itself to new owners, including owners who are not themselves from the United States. (CAGE, 331)

- (10a) Korporacija, budući da je „veštački građanin“, ima mogućnosti koje smrtnici ne poseduju. Pre svega, ona može da živi večno. Zatim, korporacija, za razliku od ljudi, može da postoji na više mesta u isto vreme. Takođe, ona može promeniti identitet – odseći sebi ruke ili noge i pretvoriti se u sasvim drugu „osobu“. Takođe, može se prodati novim vlasnicima, uključujući i one koji nisu iz SAD. (Glob, 337)

U svim ovim slučajevima, kao prevodni ekvivalenti mogli su da budu upotrebljeni odgovarajući koordinatori (*i, a, ali*). No, činjenica da u primeru (6) među rečenicama postoji odnos dodavanja,<sup>8</sup> a u (7) uzročno-posledični odnos omogućila je da se kao prevodni ekvivalenti koordinatora *and* upotrebe tekstualni konektori koji ekspliciraju te odnose: u primeru (6a) prilog *zanim*, a u primeru (7a) prilog *stoga*. U primerima (8a) i (9a) koordinatorski *but* mogao je da bude preveden veznikom *ali*; međutim, u primeru (8a) prevodilac je eksplicirao koncesivni odnos upotrebom rečice *ipak*, a u primeru (9a) prevodilac je nesaglasnost rečeničnih sadržaja obeležio rečicom *međutim*. U primeru (10) autor engleskog teksta je razne moguće odlike korporacija predstavio kroz nabranje alternativa (koje se međusobno ne isključuju<sup>9</sup>); prevodilac se u (10a) opredelio da aspekt nabranja istakne upotrebom rečice *takođe*. Dakle, upotrebom srpskog tekstualnog konektora kao prevodnog ekvivalenta engleskog koordinatorskog veza među rečenicama je u prevodu iskazana konkretnije.

U sledećim primerima javlja se još jedan način prevođenja koordinatorskog – kombinacijom srpskog koordinatorskog i tekstualnog konektora:

- (11) Naturally, much of this inscription dwells on Meshah's victory rather than on his previous submission to Omri. But it says quite plainly that “Omri, king of Israel, humbled Moab for many years”. (IOT, 129)
- (11a) Prirodno, veći deo ovog natpisa govori o Misinoj pobedi, a ne o prethodnoj pokornosti Amriju, ali ipak sasvim jasno kaže da je „Amrije, car Izraila, ponizio Moav na mnogo godina“. (USZ, 159)
- (12) “There was something coming to her and she was waiting for it, fearfully. What was it? She did not know; it was too subtle and elusive to name. But she felt it, creeping out of the sky, reaching towards her, through the sounds, the scents, the color that filled the air. [...]” (EBH, 12)
- (12a) “U njoj se rađalo nešto što je sa strahom iščekivala. Šta je to? Nije znala; osećaj je bio suviše tanan i neuhvatljiv da bi mogla da mu da naziv. Ali, ipak je osetila kako silazi s neba, kako joj se približava, kroz zvuke, kroz mirise, boje koje su ispunjavale vazduh. [...]” (Emoc, 27)

I u ovom slučaju, postoji suprotni, i to koncesivni odnos, među rečenicama. Prevodioci su mogli da upotrebe samo formalni korespondent *ali*, ili eventualno, slično primeru (8a), tekstualni konektor *ipak*; oni su se, međutim, opredelili za kombinaciju

prevodnih ekvivalenata, iskazujući i opšti suprotni odnos i njegov konkretni tip (koncesivnost).

No, ovim nisu iscrpeni svi načini prevođenja koordinatora u samostalnim rečenicama. U našoj građi smo, naime, našli i slučajeve kada koordinator nije preveden:

- (13) If someone now has an episode of psychosis, that person will most likely be seen by a psychiatrist as an out-patient. And if he or she is hospitalized to stabilize a drug treatment plan, this will often be in the psychiatric ward of a general hospital. And rather than keeping the patient in hospital for a long time, the medical staff will be keen to have the drugs working well enough for the patient to be discharged from hospital as soon as possible. (EBH, 125-6)
- (13a) Ako neko doživi psihotičnu epizodu, najčešće će ga ambulantno pregledati psihijatar. [Ø] Ako bude hospitalizovan radi lečenja, to će najčešće biti na psihijatrijskom odeljenju neke opšte bolnice. [Ø] Umesto da duže zadrži pacijenta u bolnici, medicinsko osoblje će se radije potruditi da mu odredi terapiju lekovima koja će mu omogućiti da što pre bude otpušten iz bolnice. (Emoc, 182)
- (14) Even some environmentalists were pleasantly surprised by such gains and judged UNCED a success (Von Weizsäcker 1994: 169). But for many others, it is fair to say, the conference did not yield the inspirational consensus they had hoped for. (WC, 82)
- (14a) Čak su i neki borci za očuvanje životne sredine bili prijatno iznenađeni takvim dostignućima i prosudili da je zasedanje UNCED-a uspelo (Von Weizsäcker, 1994: 169). [Ø] Treba reći i da je bilo onih koji su smatrali da ovaj skup nije doveo do inspirativnog jedinstva kojem su se nadali. (KS, 119)
- (15) Recall Breidenbach and Zukrigl's book on the "dance of cultures" (2000), which shows with a wealth of ethnographic examples how people around the world incorporate global products and practices into their own world-views [...]. Or recall the Berger and Huntington volume on "many globalizations" (2002), which shows how a supposedly universal process takes different paths according to local cultural contexts. (WC, 142-3)
- (15a) Prisetite se knjige Joane Brajdenbah i Ine Cukrigl o „plesu kultura“ (2000), koja obiljem etnografskih primera pokazuje kako ljudi širom sveta pripajaju globalne proizvode i običaje sopstvenim stavovima o svetu [...]. [Ø] Prisetite se Bergerove i Hantingtonove knjige o „mnogim globalizacijama“ (2002), koja pokazuje kako se navodno univerzalni proces odvija u različitim pravcima u zavisnosti od lokalnog kulturološkog konteksta. (KS, 206)

U primeru (13a) očekivalo bi se da se kao prevodni ekvivalent oba veznika *and* javi odgovarajući naporedni veznik (u ovom slučaju *a*), ali je prevodilac ostavio rečenice bez obeležja veze. To ne bi bilo moguće da se radilo o naporednim rečenicama u složenoj rečenici, gde je potrebno obeležiti sintaksički odnos, ali je moguće kada se radi o samostalnim rečenicama. Čitalac može da razume smislaonu vezu među rečenicama, ali tekst gubi na kohezivnosti. U primerima (14a) i (15a) je sličan slučaj, s tim što bi korespondentni veznici bili *ali/no* ili *a* odnosno *ili*.

### 3. PREVOĐENJE ENGLLESKIH VEZNIH ADVERBIJALA

I vezni adverbijali se najčešće prevode svojim formalnim korespondentima – tekstualnim konektorima, što je slučaj u sledećim primerima:

- (16) Boorstin (1964) argues that tourists seek an “environmental bubble” when they travel, in order to shield them from the unexpected and unpleasant. As a result, tourists seek the “pseudo-event” in place of a real experience. (SA, 169)
- (16a) Borstin (1964) tvrdi da turisti traže „zaštitni omotač“ kad putuju, da bi se sačuvali od neočekivanog i neprijatnog. Zato traže „pseudodogađaje“ umesto stvarnih iskustava. (SU, 270)
- (17) The pesticides exacted a heavy toll in thousands of poisoning cases. In addition, the high-yielding crop varieties are very susceptible to pest attacks as insects become resistant to the pesticides. (CAGE, 50)
- (17a) Pesticidi su naplatili visok danak u hiljadama slučajeva trovanja. Pored toga, visokorodno seme je vrlo podložno napadima štetočina, pošto insekti postaju otporni na pesticide. (Glob, 67-8)
- (18) Correlations could be established between sites belonging to similar climatic phases in different countries, and this form of cross-dating did not have to rely on dubious links between artefacts. However, even individual artefacts could be dated if they were found in peat-bogs, or if they had sufficient soil attached to them for the identification of pollen. (Arch, 112)
- (18a) Mogle su se utvrditi korelacije između lokaliteta koji pripadaju sličnim klimatskim fazama u različitim zemljama, a ta vrsta unakrsnog datiranja nije morala da se oslanja na nepouzdana veze među artefaktima. S druge strane, mogli su se datirati čak i pojedinačni artefakti, ako su nađeni u tresetištima, ili ako je na njima zaostalo dovoljno zemlje da se polen može identifikovati. (UA, 211-2)
- (19) Lopes criticized Peterson and Berger for looking only at the sale of singles. Though there was a time when single records were the key to industry sales, by 1973 singles accounted for only 37 percent of recorded music sales, and had dropped to 12 percent of the market by 1988. Accordingly, Lopes examines both top-selling albums and the top ten from the carts (which are based not only on sales of singles, but also on radio airplay and juke box plays). (SA, 110)
- (19a) Lopes kritikuje Petersona i Bergera zato što uzimaju u obzir samo prodaju singlova. Mada je u jednom periodu prodaja singlova bila osnov prodaje u ovoj industriji, do 1973. singlovi su činili samo 37 odsto prodatih ploča, a do 1988. njihova prodaja je pala na 12 posto. U skladu s tim Lopes proučava i najprodavanije albume i prvih deset sa top-lista (što se ne zasniva samo na prodaji singlova, već i na radio emitovanju i puštanju pesama na džuboksu). (SU, 179)
- (20) Trade was important in antiquity, for instance, and cultural ideas have been shared through the spread of empires and religions, as well as through trade. Various diasporas, voluntary or not, spread people and their cultural ideas across the globe (e.g. Gilroy, 1993). Thus, the process of globalization is not new, although global flows have increased to an unprecedented level. (SA, 157-8)

- (20a) Na primer, trgovina je bila važna u antičko doba, a ideje u oblasti kulture razmenjivane su širenjem carstava i religija, kao i trgovinom. Različite dijaspore, dobrovoljne ili ne, raznosile su i narode i njihove ideje širom sveta (npr. Gilroy, 1993). Dakle, proces globalizacije nije nov, iako se globalna razmena uvećala do neslučenih razmera. (SU, 251)

Kao što vidimo, u primeru (16a) je upotrebljen uzročni prilog (*zato*), u primerima (17a) i (18a) predložko-padežna konstrukcija sa priloškim značenjem (*pored toga, s druge strane*), u primeru (19a) konstrukcija sa predložkim izrazom (*u skladu s tim*), a u primeru (20a) zaključna rečca (*dakle*). Svi ovi izrazi, iako se razlikuju na leksičko-gramatičkom planu, funkcionišu kao tekstualni konektori.

Postoje i slučajevi, doduše mnogo ređi, kada se kao prevodni ekvivalenti engleskih veznih adverbijala u prevodu javljaju srpski koordinatori, kao u sledećim primerima:

- (21) Most historians might settle for calling history with a pinch of sociological theory, social history. However, this probably is not enough. (SH, 132)
- (21a) Mnogi istoričari bi prihvatili da istoriju koja se služi sociološkom teorijom zovu društvenom istorijom. No, to, verovatno, nije dovoljno. (IZIs, 162)
- (22) His wife wrote that as a teenager he had been “shy, sensitive, and unsocial.” Many people found him a gentle person, remarkably devoid of anger. At the same time some professional colleagues found him “an irritant of monumental proportions.” (EBH, 110-1)
- (22a) Njegova žena je napisala da je kao tinejdžer bio „stidljiv, osetljiv i nedruštven“. Mnogi ljudi su ga smatrali osećajnim, izrazito nesklonim besu, ali kolege su ga opisivale kao „veoma iritirajućeg“. (Emoc, 162)
- (23) Art is created by an artist or group of artists. It does not spring miraculously into form without human intervention. And art does not reach “society” at large. Instead, it reaches a particular public made up of individuals embedded in a social system. (SA, 61)
- (23a) Umetnost stvara umetnik ili grupa umetnika. Ona ne nastaje iznenada, na čudesan način, bez intervencije ljudi. Umetnost ne dospeva do celokupnog „društva“, već do određene publike koju čine pojedinci koji su deo društvenog sistema. (SU, 107)
- (24) ‘It was not easy to renounce the views and beliefs of a lifetime. The more critical appraisals must have come hard to historians of the older generation. Nevertheless, more challenging conclusions are required.’ (SH, 82)
- (24a) “Čoveku nije lako da se odrekne stavova i verovanja koji su mu obeležili čitav život. Izrazitiji kritički pristup najverovatnije je teško padoo istoričarima starije generacije. Ali, smeliji zaključci su neophodni.” (IZIs, 104)

Ovakvi slučajevi su ograničeni po funkcionalno-semantičkom tipu veznog adverbijala koji se zamenjuje. U tekstovima koje smo pregledali pre svega se radi o adverbijalima *however, nevertheless, yet, instead*, dakle o adverbijalima koji označavaju razne vrste suprotnih odnosa: nesaglasnost, koncesivnost, supstitutivnu suprotnost. A ta značenja se u srpskom jeziku, pored odgovarajućih tekstualnih konektora kao što su



partikule *međutim*, *ipak* i predložko-padežne konstrukcije *uprkos tome*, *umesto toga* i sl., iskazuju suprotnim naporednim veznicima *ali*, *no*, *već*, *nego*.

Ponekad se javljaju i drugi slični slučajevi. Jedan takav slučaj ilustruje sledeći primer:

(25) In addition, not only are audience members competent individuals, they are also embedded in social structure. Thus, their reactions to the popular arts are mediated by those around them. (SA, 51)

(25a) Pored toga, ne samo što su pripadnici publike kompetentni pojedinci, već su i deo društvenog poretka, tako da njihove reakcije na popularnu umetnost oblikuje i okruženje. (SU, 93)

Ovde su u prevodu dve samostalne rečenice, među kojima postoji uzročno-posledični odnos, spojene u jednu, i zato ih je potrebno povezati sintaksičkim odnosom. Prevodilac se mogao opredeliti za naporedne veznike posledičnog značenja *te* ili *pa*, ali je upotrebio takođe čest način povezivanja ovakvih rečenica – pseudozavisni posledični veznik *tako da*<sup>10</sup>.

Kao prevodni ekvivalent engleskog veznog adverbijala u prevodu se, istina retko, može javiti i kombinacija koordinatora i tekstualnog konektora:

(26) Most systems start out with one unit of their currency equaling one federal dollar. Yet many, especially people who feel the inequities of the paid wage system, want to move away from the conventional value system. (CAGE, 451)

(26a) Većina sistema počinje tako što je njihova jedinična valuta jednaka jednom saveznom dolaru. Ali i pored toga mnogi, a naročito ljudi koji osećaju nepravde sistema plaćenih nadnica, žele da se udalje od konvencionalnog sistema vrednosti. (Glob, 449)

(27) Three principal farming methods are employed to attain this. *Bio-intensive agriculture*, derived from the French intensive method, focuses on a highly efficient system of raised-bed gardening, in which farmers can produce extremely high yields in the smallest possible area. *Bio-dynamic farming* seeks to create a completely self-sufficient farm by maximizing plant and animal diversity and minimizing off-farm inputs [...]. Finally, *conventional organic farming* differs from both of the above [...]. (Glob, 428)

(27a) Da bi se to postiglo, koriste se tri glavna metoda. *Biointenzivna poljoprivreda*, koja je izvedena iz francuskog intenzivnog metoda, usredsređuje se na visokoefikan sistem povrtarstva sa podignutim lejama, kod koga zemljoradnici mogu dobiti veoma visoke prinose sa najmanje moguće površine. *Biodinamična zemljoradnja* teži da stvori potpuno samodovoljno poljoprivredno dobro time što će dovesti do maksimuma raznovrsnost biljaka i životinja i na najmanju meru svesti upotrebu stvari proizvedenih van farme [...]. I na kraju, *konvencionalna organska zemljoradnja* razlikuje se od oba navedena metoda [...]. (Glob, 433-4)

Upotrebom koordinatora *ali* u primeru (26a) prevodilac je odnos koncesivnosti podveo pod opšti suprotni odnos, a u primeru (27a) prevodilac je upotrebom koordinatora *i* odnos nabiranja podveo pod opšti sastavni odnos.

Kao svojevrsna analogija primeru (25a), može se navesti sledeći primer:

- (28) Besides their involvement in statistics, laboratory science and cartography, the principal function of computers in archaeology is to record, store and retrieve large quantities of information, such as excavation records or museum archives; this is a question of management rather than science (Jones 1991). However, geographical information systems (GIS) are a rather more scientific application of computing [...]. (Arch, 156)
- (28a) Osim primene u statistici, laboratorijskoj analizi i kartografiji, glavna uloga kompjutera u arheologiji jeste da beleži, skladišti i isporučuje veliku količinu informacija, kakvu predstavlja dokumentacija s iskopavanja ili muzejska arhiva. To je, međutim, više pitanje organizacije nego nauke (Jones 1991); dok se, s druge strane, geografski informacioni sistemi mogu smatrati više naučnom primenom kompjutera [...]. (UA, 299-300)

U njemu su dve zasebne rečenice spojene u jednu, a sintaksička veza tih rečenica nije obeležena naporednim veznikom (u ovom slučaju *ali/no*), nego pseudozavisnim veznikom *dok*<sup>11</sup>.

U našoj građi smo našli i slučajeve kada vezni adverbijal nije preveden, kao u sledećim primerima:

- (29) While class is difficult enough as a theoretical control, varying national historical experiences further cloud the issue: in Germany, France or America, class does not mean the same things as it does in, say, Britain. Thus, problems of definition clearly exist. (SH, 143)
- (29a) Nju [klasu] je već dovoljno teško teorijski definisati, a raznorodna nacionalna istorijska praksa taj problem još otežava – u Nemačkoj, Francuskoj i u Americi klasa ne znači isto što i u, recimo, Britaniji. [Ø] Očigledno je da postoje problemi njene definicije. (IzIs, 174)
- (30) Unlike publishers and recording companies, Hollywood filmmakers cannot target their products to smaller, specialized audience segments, and they cannot afford overproductions as a primary strategy. Instead, in order to make a profit, they must create a product which appeals to large numbers of people internationally. (SA, 99)
- (30a) Za razliku od izdavača i muzičkih kompanija, holivudske filmadžije ne mogu svoje proizvode da namene malim, specijalizovanim delovima publike, a ne mogu ni da pribegnu hiperprodukciji kao primarnoj strategiji. [Ø] Da bi zaradili, oni moraju da naprave proizvod koji će se dopasti mnoštvu ljudi širom planete. (SU, 163-4)
- (31) Through this new kind of constitutional protection, the rights of TNCs take precedence over the rights of citizens in their respective nation-states. In addition, the legislative authority of GATT and NAFTA supersedes the legislation of participating nation-states when matters of conflict arise. (CAGE, 300)
- (31a) Zahvaljujući ovoj novoj vrsti ustavne zaštite, prava MNK imaju prednost nad pravima građana te zemlje. [Ø] U slučaju spora, konvencije GATT-a i NAFTA-e imaju primat nad državnim zakonima. (Glob, 293)

Ovi primeri svedoče o mogućnosti da se smisaone veze među samostalnim rečenicama razumeju i bez formalnih obeležja kao što su tekstualni konektori *dakle/prema tome* za zaključni odnos u primeru (29a)<sup>12</sup>, *umesto toga* (ili koordinatori *već/nego*) za supstitutivni odnos prema negiranom sadržaju prethodne rečenice u primeru (30a) i *uz to/pored toga* i sl. za odnos dodavanja u primeru (31a). Ali čitaocu bi bilo olakšano razumevanje veze među rečenicama da je u prevodu upotrebljen prevodni ekvivalent veznog adverbijala. Uopšte, po našem mišljenju, s aspekta čitaoca je bolje da prevodilac ne ide ispod nivoa tekstualne kohezije koji postoji u izvornom tekstu.

#### 4. ZAKLJUČAK

Napred opisani načini prevođenja engleskih koordinatora i veznih adverbijala kao obeležja odnosa među samostalnim rečenicama mogu se prikazati i tabelarno, kao u sledećoj tabeli u kojoj su polja sa formalnim korespondentima osenčena, odsustvo prevodnog ekvivalenta predstavljeno znakom  $\emptyset$ , a zagradama pokazano da se pojava ne odnosi na sve upotrebe koordinatora i na sve vezne adverbijale<sup>13</sup>:

Srpski Engleski	Koordinator	Tekstualni konektor	Koordinator + tekstualni konektor	$\emptyset$
Koordinator	+	(+)	(+)	(+)
Vezni adverbijal	(+)	+	(+)	(+)

Sadržaj tabele se može rezimirati ovako:

- tabela pokazuje da upotreba formalnog korespondenta predstavlja glavni i uvek primenljivi načini prevođenja;
- drugi i treći stubac tabele pokazuju da se i koordinatori i vezni adverbijali, bar u nekim slučajevima, prevode ne samo svojim formalnim korespondentima nego i komplementarnim prevodnim ekvivalentima – koordinatori tekstualnim konektorima, a vezni adverbijali koordinatorima;
- četvrti stubac pokazuje da se kao jedan od mogućih prevodnih ekvivalenata u nekim slučajevima javljaju i kombinacije koordinatora i tekstualnih konektora;
- poslednji stubac pokazuje da se u nekim slučajevima ova obeležja međurečeničnih odnosa ne prevode, tj. može se govoriti o nultom tekstualnom prevodnom ekvivalentu.

Drugim rečima, formalni korespondenti su osnovno, ali ne i jedino sredstvo za prevođenje navedenih obeležja međurečenične veze. Naime, u prevodilačkoj praksi se, bar u izvesnoj meri, sreću svi navedeni alternativni načini prevođenja, uključujući i izostavljanje prevodnih ekvivalenata. Dakle, i ovaj rad pokazuje da čak i u slučajevima kada u dva jezika postoje korespondentne jezičke jedinice, kao što je to slučaj sa

koordinatorima odnosno veznim adverbijalima/tekstualnim konektorima u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, u praksi možemo sresti alternativne načine prevođenja, tj. prevodne ekvivalente koji nisu formalni korespondenti.

- 1 Termin *vezni adverbijal* (engl. *linking adverbial*) preuzeli smo od Biber *et al.* (1999), dok za isti pojam Quirk *et al.* (1985) koriste termin *conjunct*, a Huddleston i Pullum (2002) *connective adjunct*.
- 2 O formalnoj korespondenciji i formalnim korespondentima v. Ivir (1985: 85-86), Hlebec (1989: 27, 124) i Đorđević (2004: 58-63).
- 3 U funkciji koja se u srbistici označava kao nadovezivačka (v. npr. Stanojčić i Popović (2008: 378)).
- 4 Objasnjenje skraćenica naslova knjiga iz kojih su uzeti primeri nalazi se na kraju rada.
- 5 Simbol Ø koristimo da označimo odsustvo prevodnog ekvivalenta.
- 6 Ovo, naravno, nisu jedini formalni korespondenti ovih koordinatora u srpskom jeziku; v. Mihajlović (1979).
- 7 O semantičkoj korespondenciji v. Hlebec (1989: 27, 124).
- 8 V. npr. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 932).
- 9 O ekskluzivnom i inkluzivnom značenju koordinatora *or* v. npr. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 932-933).
- 10 O pseudozavnsnim posledičnim rečenicama sa veznikom spojem *tako da* v. Stanojčić i Popović (2008: 333-334, 359).
- 11 O ovakvoj upotrebi veznika *dok* v. Stanojčić i Popović (2008: 357).
- 12 U ovom primeru prilog *očigledno* na neki način kompenzira odsustvo zaključnog konektora.
- 13 U ovom radu ovakvi slučajevi mogli su biti samo ilustrovani, ali ne i detaljno obrađeni.

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## SUMMARY

### COORDINATORS AND LINKING ADVERBIALS AS MARKERS OF TEXTUAL RELATIONS: TRANSLATION FROM ENGLISH INTO SERBIAN

English coordinators and linking adverbials used to connect sentences can be translated into Serbian in different ways. While their translation equivalents are typically their Serbian counterparts, there are cases where coordinators are translated by linking adverbials/particles, linking adverbials are translated by coordinators, and either coordinators or linking adverbials are translated by a combination of coordinator and linking adverbial/particle. Moreover, sometimes no translation equivalent is used. In this paper, these different cases are illustrated and described.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** koordinatori, vezni adverbijali, tekstualni konektori, formalni korespondenti, prevodni ekvivalenti, prevođenje.

## ■ DIE NOTATION ALS HILFSMITTEL IN DER ZWEISPRACHIG VERMITTELTEN KOMMUNIKATION

Translation als eine Sonderform der Kommunikation hat zwei Vollzugsarten: das Übersetzen und das Dolmetschen. Hier soll ein Untertyp des Konferenzdolmetschens, das Konsekutivdolmetschen (im Unterschied zum Simultandolmetschen und zum Community interpreting) daraufhin untersucht werden, welche Rolle der Notation dabei zukommt.

In der Praxis sieht es gegenwärtig so aus, dass das Konsekutivdolmetschen immer stärker vom Simultandolmetschen verdrängt wird, einerseits wegen der enormen Zeitersparnis aufgrund eines *time lags* von nur wenigen Sekunden, andererseits auch wegen der unverminderten gleichzeitigen Erreichbarkeit aller Kommunikationspartner über hochwertige neue Simultananlagen (jeder Teilnehmer hat seine Kopfhörer, über welche er in unverminderter Qualität den Ausführungen des Redners folgen kann). Außerdem erlaubt im Zuge der Globalisierung unserer Welt das simultane Dolmetschen die Arbeit mit Relaisprachen und so die Verdolmetschung in eine nahezu unbeschränkte Zahl von Sprachen gleichzeitig. Nichts desto trotz wird gerade in kleinerem Rahmen, z.B. bei politischen Gesprächen oder in Firmen bei Geschäftsverhandlungen etc. das konsekutive Dolmetschen anwesend sein, da sich hier der Erwerb oder die Anmietung der immer noch recht teuren Anlagen nicht lohnt oder da der anwesende Personenkreis einfach zu klein ist, als dass man „schwere“ Technik auffahren würde. Der Konsekutivdolmetscher sieht sich, wenn er als Experte auf seinem Gebiet eingestuft werden will, mit der Tatsache konfrontiert, dass sein operatives Gedächtnis ohne Unterstützung nicht in der Lage ist, mindestens ca. 7 Minuten Speicherleistung zu erbringen (was als Durchschnittsrichtwert gilt, durchaus keine Seltenheit ist und den professionellen Dolmetscher vom „Wald- und Wiesendolmetscher“ unterscheidet). Diese Hilfestellung kann die Notation leisten, vorausgesetzt, der Dolmetscher ist darin ausgebildet. Es ist leider derzeit – zumindest an den Lehrstühlen für Germanistik der Universitäten in Serbien – so, dass keine Unterweisung in Notation stattfindet, obwohl dies für die Praxis unbedingt nötig wäre. Dies wird sich erst mit der ersten Bologna-Generation an der Belgrader Universität ändern, wo die Germanistik-Studenten auch in Notation im Rahmen der Translationswissenschaft unterwiesen werden. Und so sahen sich die Absolventen der Vergangenheit in der Praxis hilflos der Flut von Anforderungen gegenüber, der sie entweder dadurch begegneten, dass sie einen nicht gerade billigen

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Kurs im Berufsverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer belegten, in dem Notation aber auch keine Rolle spielt, sondern eher die Terminologie verschiedener Fachgebiete; oder aber viel Zeit damit verloren, sich Erfahrungen anzueignen, die ihnen noch während des Studiums hätten vermittelt werden können.

Nun zum Begriffsapparat. *Konsequativdolmetschen* wird die Dolmetschart genannt, bei der die Rezeption des Ausgangstextes (AT) Stück für Stück (sukzessive) und in Redeabschnitten (segmentiert), und die Produktion bzw. Präsentation des Zieltextes (ZT) nicht parallel zur Rezeption des entsprechenden AT-Segments erfolgt.

Die Handlungsgrundlage des/der Ausführenden bilden die im Gedächtnis gespeicherten Informationen, bei Notizennahme zusammen mit dem parallel zur Rezeption des AT notierten logisch-begrifflichen Substrats des jeweiligen Redesegments. Die für die Ausführungen zur Verfügung stehende Zeit hängt durch die Separierung von AT-Präsentation und ZT-Präsentation nur indirekt vom Sprechtempo des Redners und der Übertragungsrichtung ab.

Zum Konsequativdolmetschen zählen wir auch meist die oben erwähnte neuere gesellschaftliche Erscheinungsform des CI (*Community Interpreting*), das aber eher in den klassischen Einwanderungsländern von Bedeutung ist, wobei sich Deutschland mit einer derartigen Klassifizierung immer noch schwer tut.

Der Dolmetscher hat gegenwärtig, im Unterschied zum Übersetzer, nur sehr vereinzelt die Möglichkeit des mehrfachen Rückgriffs auf den AT und auf Wörterbücher, schon gar nicht auf elektronische. Seine Hauptleistung liegt darin, dass er in kurzer zeitlicher Abfolge den AT rezipiert und einen ZT produziert. Was dazwischen vorgeht, ist nicht unumstritten. So spricht die translologische Forschung, je nach Darstellung der Übersetzungstheorie, von Transkodierung, von Deverbalisierung, von der Herstellung von Äquivalenz- oder Kohärenzbeziehungen.

Es wurde nachgewiesen, dass sich der Mensch von einem mündlich vorgetragenen und über das Hören rezipierten Text mehr merkt als er im ersten Augenblick reproduzieren kann, egal ob in seiner Muttersprache oder in einer Fremdsprache. Um ihm solche kurzfristig „vergessenen“ Redesegmente wieder ins Gedächtnis rufen zu können, sind einzelne verbale oder non-verbale Signale ausreichend. Das dies auch beim Langzeitgedächtnis funktioniert, zeigt zum Beispiel auch die Evozierung konkreter Kindheitserinnerungen durch bestimmte Gerüche, Gegenstände, Lieder etc. Dazu dienen dann auch die notierten Symbole, Kurzwörter, Zeichen, Abkürzungen, ob sprachenunabhängig oder sprachenübergreifend: sie sollen die zur Sinnkonstituierung wesentlichen Redesegmente aus dem Gedächtnis des Dolmetschers abrufen.

Um seine Tätigkeit professionell auszuüben, soll der Dolmetscher folgende Schritte zur Analyse und Synthese der Information vollziehen:

- Erzeugen eines mentalen Bildes des zu dolmetschenden Redesegments
- Bemerkung von Auffälligkeiten während der mündlichen Darlegung
- Bemerkung von Zahlen
- Herstellen von Zusammenhängen der einzelnen Gedanken und Termini
- Feststellen der inneren Beziehungen im Redesegment
- Aktivieren und Abrufen von verdeckten Gedächtnisinhalten
- Persönliche Reaktionen auf die Information (Seleskovich 2008: 20)



Wenn der Dolmetscher diese Schritte alle berücksichtigt, läuft er nicht mehr Gefahr, sich einzelne Wörter ohne Sinnzusammenhang zu merken. Er erreicht so Leichtigkeit und Klarheit bei der Formulierung des ZT, ohne sklavisch an den Formulierungen des AT festzuhalten. Dies zu erreichen ist natürlich nur in einem längeren Training möglich, wozu aber die Hochschulausbildung ausreichend Gelegenheit bieten sollte.

Die Besonderheit des Konsekutivdolmetschens ist ja, dass die oben dargestellte Analyse- und Synthesephase im Kopf des Dolmetschers in jenem Augenblick abgeschlossen sein muss, wenn der Redner sein Redesegment beendet hat. Das bedeutet für den Dolmetscher, dass er bei schnellem Redetempo (als normales Redetempo werden 120 bis 200 Wörter pro Minute angesehen) nicht etwa sein Sprechen beschleunigt, sondern die Analyse- und Synthesephase. Die Formulierung des ZT wird spontan geschehen, nicht so ausgefeilt wie beim Übersetzen.

Es sind besonders die Schritte der Erzeugung eines mentalen Abbilds des Redesegments sowie die Aktivierung und Abruf von verdeckten Gedächtnisinhalten, welche den Anfänger vom routinierten Dolmetscher unterscheiden. Wenn der Dolmetscher versucht, sich die Redesegmente zu verbildlichen, so klebt er nicht an wörtlichen Formulierungen. Verdeckte Gedächtnisinhalte können durch einzelne Reize aktiviert werden. Aktivierung und Abruf der verdeckten Gedächtnisinhalte spielen eine große Rolle, sowohl beim Konsekutiv- als auch beim Simultandolmetschen, da der Redner jedes Redesegment auf dem vorangegangenen aufbaut und davon ausgeht, dass das jeweils vorangegangene auch verstanden wurde.

Der Dolmetscher kann, wenn er versucht, *Sinnhalte* zu finden und zu synthetisieren, sich eine große Menge an Informationen merken, wobei er sich dessen nicht immer bewusst ist. Ein Wort oder eine Frage ist meist ausreichend, um diese Informationen wieder abzurufen.

Diese Funktion hat dann auch die Mitschrift des Dolmetschers in der zweisprachig vermittelte Kommunikation auszuüben. (Seleskovich 2008: 34-36). Die Notation ist somit eine Teiloperation des Konsekutivdolmetschens, die ohne das Verstehen nicht funktionieren kann.

Einigkeit herrscht in der Fachliteratur darüber, dass die Funktion der Notizen einzig und allein in der UNTERSTÜTZUNG des Gedächtnisses liegt, d.h. zu notieren sind lediglich diejenigen Anteile der rednerischen Aussage, die nicht behalten werden können, wie z.B. Eigennamen, Termini oder Zahlen, oder solche Stichpunkte, die einen effizienten Abruf von Gedächtnisinhalten fördern.

Es lassen sich im Wesentlichen drei Grundrichtungen oder „Schulen“ der Notation erkennen, die an drei Personen festgemacht werden können, welche diese Schulen maßgeblich mitgestaltet haben:

1. Jean-Francois Rozan (1956) als UNO-Dolmetscher und Dozent an der *Ecole de Traduction et d'Interprétation* der Genfer Universität → Genfer Schule
2. Danica Seleskovitch (1975, 1984, 1988), Professorin an der *Ecole Supérieure d'Interpretes et de Traducteurs* der Universität Paris → Pariser Schule
3. Heinz Matyssek (1989) : Dozent am *Institut für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen (IÜD)* der Universität Heidelberg; Handbuch der Notizentechnik → Heidelberger Schule



Zu 1.: Die ersten Ansätze für eine systematische Notationsdidaktik wurden in den 50er Jahren von *Rozan* als Dolmetschpraktiker entwickelt. Dabei stützte sich Rozan auf seine eigenen individuellen Erfahrungen und erhob diese, ohne sie empirisch nachgewiesen zu haben, zu einem didaktischen Konzept. Nach Rozan sind Notizen als Gedächtnisstütze unentbehrlich, es gibt allgemein gültige Grundprinzipien, die auch lehrbar sind. Rozan befürwortet ein klares Abkürzungssystem für Wörter, eine zielsprachenorientierte Notation, wenige Symbole und eine klare vertikale Struktur. Die Notizennahme erfolgt nicht zeitgleich zum Redner, sondern es liegt ein zeitlicher Abstand von einigen Sekunden dazwischen, wobei dieser Abstand je nach Komplexität des Gesagten variabel zu handhaben ist. Er selbst sieht dies als ein in sich kohärentes Notationssystem an, das eine Synthese aus den verschiedenen Techniken seiner Dolmetschkollegen darstellt und als erlernbare Technik konzipiert wurde. Rozans Ausführungen gelten heute als Standardwerk und bilden quasi das Basissystem, auf dem sämtliche Ansätze in der einen oder anderen Weise aufbauen.

Aus didaktischen und dolmetschpraktischen Gründen zeichnet sich das System durch Einfachheit aus – es besteht aus 7 Prinzipien<sup>1</sup> und 10 respektive 20 Symbolen.<sup>2</sup>

Zu 2. *Seleskovitch* stützt ihre Theorie auf Beobachtungen der Verhaltensweisen von Anfängern in der Dolmetschausbildung. Ihre Theorie ist ein ausschließlich am Verstehen orientiertes Modell der sprachlichen Kommunikation. Entsprechend postuliert Seleskovitch eine zielsprachenorientierte Notation, die auf dem Sinn beruht; Mischformen mit Drittsprachenelementen lehnt Seleskovitch ab. Sie betrachtet Drittsprachenelemente nicht als Sprache, sondern als Symbole, da es sich ihrer Meinung nach dabei um ständige feste Zeichen handelt, die spontan notiert werden. Diese Form der Notation ist nach Seleskovitch dem Verstehen abträglich. Der Zeitpunkt der Notizennahme hat mit zeitlichem Abstand zur Informationsrezeption zu erfolgen. Nach Seleskovitch sind Notizen hoch individuell und nicht vermittelbar. Seleskovitch sieht die Notation als reine Memorierungsstrategie für den Notierenden. Damit sind Notizen auch nur für den Augenblick konzipiert und nicht geeignet, Inhalte zu reproduzieren.<sup>3</sup>

Zu 3. Eine besonders ausführlich dokumentierte und hinsichtlich der verschiedenen Notationsmittel im Detail ausgearbeitete Position ist die von *Heinz Matyssek* (Heidelberger Schule). Er postuliert eine sprachenunabhängige, also auf Symbolen beruhende Notation. Dabei versteht er unter Symbol nicht nur das von jedem sprachlichen Bezug in jeder sprachlichen Erscheinungsform gelöste Zeichensymbol, sondern jedes Notationszeichen, das in dieser oder jener Form als „Sinträger“, als „Bedeutungsverkörperer“ auftritt, gleich, ob es sich um Subjunktoren für die semantische Beziehung zweier Aussageteile oder den Buchstaben D für Deutschland oder  $\alpha$  für den Begriffssektor „Arbeit“ handelt.<sup>4</sup>

Die beschriebenen Notationsansätze lassen drei Grundprinzipien der Notation erkennen, die in der Fachliteratur ungeachtet der sonstigen unterschiedlichen Standpunkte übereinstimmend als Anforderungsprofil anerkannt und benannt werden:

1. Individualität
2. Ökonomie
3. schnelle Erfassbarkeit

An erster Stelle steht die Individualität der Notation, d.h. dass jeder seine eigene Art und Weise entwickelt, wie diese Notation für ihn konkret in einer konkreten Situation auszusehen hat. Das heißt jedoch nicht, dass sich der Einzelne nicht grundlegende Regeln, Empfehlungen und Merkmale zu eigen machen sollte, die sich in der Praxis als sehr hilfreich erwiesen haben, wie z.B. die vertikale und stufenförmig aufgebaute Anordnung oder die Verwendung bestimmter Symbole etc. Der Aufbau eines Notationssystems jedoch erfolgt wirklich individuell, da das ausschlaggebende Kriterium für die Auswahl von Notationsmitteln einzig deren subjektiv empfundene Effizienz als Abrufhilfe ist. Eine Anpassung und Abänderung der Zeichen und Symbole durch den Dolmetscher in Abhängigkeit vom konkreten Auftrag und je nach Bedarf ist jederzeit zulässig. Hier kommt besonders die Verantwortung in der Dolmetscherausbildung zum Tragen, den Studierenden Angebote zu machen, ohne zu präskriptiv zu sein.

Zweite Anforderung ist die Ökonomie. Dies hängt damit zusammen, dass die Notation lediglich ein Hilfsmittel darstellt, da die Notationsnotwendigkeit aus der begrenzten Leistungsfähigkeit des operativen Gedächtnisses resultiert. So soll der Dolmetscher nicht über Gebühr seine geistigen und zeitlichen Kapazitäten auf die Entschlüsselung seiner Notizen verwenden, sondern so korrekt und schnell wie möglich den AT verstehen und einen äquivalenten ZT produzieren. Das Prinzip der Ökonomie bezieht sich einerseits auf die ökonomische Gestaltung der einzelnen Zeichen und Zeichengruppen und zum anderen auf ihren zahlenmäßig möglichst reduzierten Einsatz. In der Praxis wird das Ökonomieprinzip unterschiedlich befolgt. Bei Anfängern lässt sich häufig beobachten, dass sie sich sehr stark auf die Notation konzentrieren, obwohl von didaktischer Seite nachdrücklich darauf hingewiesen wird, dass eine zu intensive Beschäftigung mit den Notizen die Dolmetschleistung beeinträchtigt. Trotzdem verzichtet kaum jemand auf die Notation, Notizen tragen nicht unerheblich zur Vollständigkeit, Genauigkeit und Stimmigkeit der wiederzugebenden Information bei.

Die dritte Hauptanforderung ist die schnelle Erfassbarkeit der Notizen. Damit eine Notiz schnell überschaubar ist, sollte sie so angelegt sein, dass der Dolmetscher ganze Notationsabschnitte auf einen Blick erfassen kann und nicht Zeichen für Zeichen entschlüsseln muss, um eine freie Präsentation zu gewährleisten. Zur freien Präsentation des ZT gehört übrigens auch der Blickkontakt mit dem Publikum, von dem u.a. im Endeffekt eine positive Bewertung der Dolmetscherleistung durch die Kommunikationsteilnehmer abhängt und der auch dazu dient, die unmittelbare Dolmetschersituation nicht aus dem Blick zu verlieren, um gegebenenfalls reagieren und korrigierend eingreifen zu können.

Einigkeit herrscht darüber, dass sich die *Stenographie*, mit der die Notation oftmals verwechselt oder gleichgesetzt wird, zu diesem Zweck als völlig ungeeignet erwiesen hat, was aus ihrer *völlig verschiedenen Funktion* hervorgeht: „Im Unterschied zu Schnellschreib- oder Kurzschriftmethoden, die aufgabenunabhängig als eigenständige künstliche Systeme zur nachhaltigen Fixierung von mündlichen Äußerungen konzipiert wurden, haben Dolmetschnotizen nur im Funktionszusammenhang des Konsekutivdolmetschens ihren Wert.“ (Pöchhacker 1998: 367)

Die schnelle Erfassbarkeit wird dazu über folgende Mittel erreicht:

1. eine knappe und sparsame Notation (s. Prinzip der Ökonomie)
2. Anwendung von hochassoziativen Zeichen, deren äußere Form unmittelbar auf ihre Bedeutung schließen lässt. Sie müssen über einen hohen Grad der Motivation verfügen, schnell und einfach zu zeichnen sein und im Vorfeld gelernt worden sein (also nicht ad hoc ausgedacht)
3. übersichtliche Gestaltung der Notation (vertikal und eingerückt versetzt, visualisierende Darstellungsweise)

Diese drei Forderungen werden von allen gestellt. Unterschiedlich sind hingegen die Meinungen, ob sprachunabhängige Notationssysteme, oder Notationssysteme mit sprachübergreifenden Symbolen besser seien. Ein sprachunabhängiges Notationssystem scheint zunächst ein attraktives Konzept zu sein, da es die Erfassung des Sinns und die Loslösung von den ausgangssprachlichen Oberflächenstrukturen sowie die Anwendbarkeit auf sämtliche Arbeitssprachen verspricht. Hier wird von verschiedenen Autoren dagegengehalten, dass es nicht möglich ist, ein von jeder natürlichen Sprache unabhängiges Notationssystem aufbauen zu wollen, weil eine Abstraktionsstufe gesucht werden müsste, die den Rang einer Universalsprache hätte. Wenn wir die Funktion der Notationssprache richtig deuten und die Leistungsfähigkeit unserer Belege richtig einschätzen, ist ein sprachfreies Notationssystem auch unnötig, denn was wir in der Notationspraxis brauchen, ist ein gemeinsames Bezugssystem für zwei verschiedene Sprachen.

Die Positionen hinsichtlich der Verwendung von Symbolen liegen ähnlich weit auseinander wie hinsichtlich der „Sprachenunabhängigkeit“. Gemeint sind mit Symbolen Notationszeichen, die sich nicht eindeutig einem Wort oder einer Abkürzung aus einer Einzelsprache zuordnen lassen. Es kann sich dabei um Anleihen in anderen Alphabeten handeln oder auch um ikonisch motivierte Zeichen, die das Bezeichnete bildhaft darstellen, z.B. Piktogramme als Hinweis- oder Verbotsschilder in Restaurants, Bahnhöfen etc.<sup>5</sup>

Dritter Streitpunkt ist, in welcher Sprache die Notation erfolgen sollte. Hier sind die Autoren grundverschiedener Meinung.

Für die *Notation in der Zielsprache* sprechen sich einige Autoren aus didaktischen Gründen aus oder aus dem Grund, dass man auf höchster politischer Ebenen in die Fremdsprache als Zielsprache übersetzt. Andere sagen, dass man grundsätzlich *in der Muttersprache* notieren sollte. Es gibt weiterhin die Meinung, *in der Ausgangssprache* Notizen zu nehmen. Oder auch solche, die sich für *ein gemischtsprachiges System* aussprechen. Insgesamt entsteht der Eindruck, als sei die Gemischtsprachigkeit mittlerweile anerkannt, da dies in der Praxis auch am weitesten verbreitet ist. Interessant und für weiterführende empirische Untersuchungen wäre dann die Frage nicht nach der „Sprache der Notation“, sondern nach der „Hauptsprache der Notation“.

Sehr interessant ist in jedem Fall ein neuerer Ansatz aus kognitiver Sicht.

Aus kognitiver Sicht stellt sich die Frage anders. Da sind AS und ZS nur Bezugsgrößen eines Prozesses. Diese Bezugsgrößen entsprechen unterschiedlichen Orientierungen, mal zum Verstehens- mal zum Wiedergabeprozess hin, je nach Phase des Textverarbeitungsprozess. Demzufolge kann die *Notation* aus kognitiver Sicht als Ganzes *als Sprache* aufgefasst werden (unabhängig von ihrer Zusammensetzung aus AS-,

ZS-, drittsprachlichen oder nicht einzelsprachlich gebundenen, sprachübergreifenden Anteilen) sowie als Text, der im Zuge der natürlichen Sprachverarbeitungsprozesse verarbeitet wird.

In den Ansätzen der drei genannten Schulen wurde die *Notation als eine Technik* aufgefasst. Hierbei standen praktische und technische Überlegungen und nicht konzeptionelle im Vordergrund.

In der kognitiven Forschung gibt es mittlerweile den o.g. Ansatz, die Notation über die Theoriekonstrukte „Sprache“ und „Text“ zu analysieren und zu beschreiben. Für die Kategorisierung der *Notation als Notationssprache* sprechen folgende Argumente: Die Dolmetschnotizen erfüllen trotz der Begrenztheit des Zeicheninventars eine ähnliche Funktion wie die Zeichen einer natürlichen Schriftsprache. Die Bedeutungsleistung der einzelnen Zeichen umfasst nahezu alle Bedeutungsebenen (konzeptuell, begrifflich, konnotativ, sozial, affektiv, reflektierend oder kollokativ) mit Ausnahme der stilistischen Bedeutung.

Der Dolmetscher hält im Notizentext in seiner individuellen Notationssprache Teile dessen, was er verstanden hat, fest und kann darauf dann in der Phase der ZT-Produktion zurückgreifen. Ein Notizentext ist somit aus kognitiver Sicht ein Text wie jeder andere auch, er weist aber dolmetschspezifische Unterschiede im Vergleich zu natürlichsprachigen Texten auf. Die Besonderheiten ergeben sich aus den spezifischen Bedingungen des Dolmetschens, d.h. die Notationssprache wird in enger Anpassung an die Bedürfnisse und Fähigkeiten eines bestimmten Dolmetschers individuell ausgebildet und in Notizentexten benutzt. Für diesen Notizentext sind Produzent und Adressat personengleich, und es stellt einen Extremfall der Intertextualität dar, dass der Dolmetscher ihn nur in Bezug auf den verstandenen Ausgangstext verstehen kann. Besonderheiten ergeben sich darüber hinaus aus der spezifischen Funktion der Notation – der Notizentext ist zum einmaligen und sofortigen Gebrauch in einer ganz spezifischen, konkreten Dolmetschsituation bestimmt (*solipsitische* Verarbeitungsbedingungen), sowie der Abhängigkeit des Notizentextes vom Ausgangstext, den er repräsentiert, d.h. er nimmt seine Funktion als Gedächtnisstütze über die Erinnerung an den Ausgangstext bzw. über das bei der AT-Rezeption aufgebaute mentale Modell wahr, er ist somit ein Hilfstext, ein anzillärer Text (Merkmal der *Anzillarität*) (Albl-Mikasa 2007: 429-440)

Der Notizentext in Notizensprache als Hilfstext ist somit ein zweckmäßiges Werkzeug des Dolmetschers in der zweisprachig vermittelten Kommunikation, das als Stütze seines operativen Gedächtnisses in der Lage ist, gespeicherte Gedächtnisinhalte abzurufen und ihm so die Produktion eines ZT zu erleichtern. Die Vermittlung der Grundlagen der Notation sollte auf jeden Fall bereits in der universitären Ausbildung erfolgen, damit bei den Studierenden die Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten zur Entwicklung einer individuellen Notationssprache ausgebildet werden können. In der Praxis hat sich eine gemischte Notationssprache (aus ausgangssprachlichen, zielsprachlichen, sprachenunabhängigen und sprachenübergreifenden Zeichen und Symbolen) bei vertikaler Anordnung mit evtl. Einrückungen bewährt.

- 1 Die 7 Prinzipien lauten:
  1. Loslösung von der Ausdrucksebene des AT, logische Sinnanalyse und spontane Zieltext-Versprachlichung zur Vermeidung von Sinnfehlern und stilistischen Ungereimtheiten
  2. Die Abkürzung von Wörtern und Phrasen ist die naheliegende, von allen Dolmetschern und Autoren eingesetzte und propagierte Form der Notation, durch Schreiben des Wortanfangs und Hochstellung des oder der letzten Buchstaben des Wortes (z.B. St ut- hochgesetzt für Statut), abkürzendes Ersetzen vom Numerus-, Genus-, und Tempusendungen (z.B. s für Pluralendungen oder é für Indikation der Vergangenheit) sowie Verkürzen ganzer Phrasen durch den Einsatz kurzer sinnverwandter Wörter
  3. Markierung der kohäsiven Verknüpfungen in der Notation, um Sinnverfälschungen zu vermeiden (also Konjunktoren und Subjunktoren)
  4. Verneinung mittels Durchstreichen eines Wortes oder Zusatz von *no*
  5. Die Unterstreichung als Hervorhebung und die doppelte Unterstreichung als besonders starke Hervorhebung
  6. Vertikale Anordnung der Kern- und Nebenaussagen auf dem Notizblock. Diese aufgrund der üblichen linearen Schreibweise ungewöhnliche Anordnung hat den Vorteil einer größeren Übersichtlichkeit und macht die Markierung bestimmter semantischer Verknüpfungen überflüssig
  7. Zusätzlich zur vertikalen Anordnung wird eine seitlich versetzte Einrückung von Notationseinheiten vorgeschlagen. Rozans Ansatz sieht dabei eine relativ strikte seitliche Verschiebung nach rechts um die gesamte Textlänge der vorausgehenden Zeile vor.
- 2 Die vorgeschlagenen 20 Symbole erachtet Rozan trotz ihrer begrenzten Zahl als völlig ausreichend:
  - die Ausdrucks-Symbole ( : für Denken; „ für Sprechen; ⊕ für Diskussion und OK für Zustimmung)
  - die Symbole der Bewegung und Orientierung (der horizontale Pfeil → für Richtungs-, Tendenz- und Überbringungsabsichten; der aufwärtsgerichtete Pfeil ↑ für Erhöhung, Entwicklung, Fortschritt; der abwärtsgerichtete Pfeil ↓ für Verminderung, Abschwung, Abnahme etc.)
  - die Verhältnis-Symbole (der Schrägstrich / zur Kennzeichnung von Beziehungen; das Gleichheitszeichen = für Gleichgestelltes, das durchgestrichene Gleichheitszeichen ≠ zur Bezeichnung von Unterschiedlichkeiten)

Neben diesen 10 Symbolen werden drei weitere Entsprechungszeichen (die Klammer [] für Einschübe und untergeordnete Aussagen; das Pluszeichen +; das Minuszeichen - ) sowie 7 substantivische Symbole für immer wiederkehrende Schlüsselbegriffe als nützlich empfohlen (○ für Land, Nation, national; ⊗ für Ausland, international; W für *world*, global, universell; w von *work* für Arbeit, handeln; ? für Fragestellung, Problem etc.)
- 3 Seleskovitch geht von einem Drei-Phasenmodell des Dolmetschens aus, das nach ihrem Verständnis im
  1. Hören und Verstehen der Aussage durch Analyse der Exegese
  2. sofortiges Vergessen des Signifikanten und
  3. in der vollständigen und auf den Empfänger zugeschnittenen Produktion eines neuen Signifikanten besteht.

Die Pariser Schule fordert die Notation des reinen, deverbaisierten Sinns. Dies sei dadurch zu erreichen, dass die bei der Notation zum Einsatz kommenden, einzelsprachlichen und z.T. abgekürzten Wörter nicht in ihrer typischen Wortfunktion, sondern als mentale Abrufsignale angesehen werden. Das Hauptanliegen sieht die Pariser Schule in der Zeitersparnis, die Hauptmerkmale neben der Individualität die Ökonomie und schnelle Erfassbarkeit.
- 4 Das Notieren nicht in Worten, sondern in Symbolen, die als Sinntäger fungieren, dient seiner Meinung nach einer freien Wiedergabe des Textes in der Zielsprache. Außerdem seien Symbole effiziente und knappe Notationselemente (wobei einige seiner Symbole richtig kompliziert sind). Dieses sprachunabhängige System ist für ihn kein theoretisches Modell, sondern Mittel zum Zweck. Er erarbeitet ein umfassendes Repertoire an vielen hundert Symbolen für verschiedene gängige Themenbereiche aus dem nationalen und internationalen Leben, im Wesentlichen für Politik, Wirtschaft, Recht und Militär. Er stellt dazu in seinem Handbuch ausgefeilte Symbol-Felder vor (Abstrakta, Arbeit, Fahrzeug, Friede, Handel, Industrie, Krieg, Landwirtschaft, Markt, Mensch, Motor, Politik, Preis, Produkt, Recht, Staat, Transport, Waffe, Wirtschaft, Erz, Kohle, Metall, Öl – letztere Symbolfelder wurden deshalb angelegt, da in jener Zeit die Rohstofffrage höchst aktuell war).

Gleichzeitig wird von Matyssek mit Nachdruck der individuelle Charakter seiner Symbole und Anwendungsgrundsätze betont. Er versteht sie nicht als Vorgaben, sondern als „Anregungen, Vorschläge, Stimulantia, Sichtmöglichkeiten, Auswahlkataloge, aber nie als Regeln oder Vorschriften, die befolgt werden müssen“.

Sein Notationssystem zeichnet sich durch folgende Besonderheiten aus:

- die Verwendung einer große Zahl von piktographischen und ideographischen Zeichen,
  - die Kombinierbarkeit solcher Zeichen und Symbole zu Ketten, Feldern, Varianten und Kombinationen
  - schnell erfassbare, nicht-lineare Anordnung der Gesamnotation
- 5 Zeichnerisch vereinfacht und schnell zu Papier zu bringen stellen solche Zeichen eine Besonderheit der Notation dar (z.B. Smiley für Freude..), die durchaus ihre Berechtigung haben. Als Symbole gelten auch die Währungszeichen oder die Zahl 1 für das Determinativ *ein*.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

### DIE NOTATION ALS HILFSMITTEL IN DER ZWEISPRACHIG VERMITTELTEN KOMMUNIKATION

Das Konsequitvdolmetschen mit Notation stellt für den Dolmetscher trotz des Siegeszuges des Simultandolmetschens immer noch eine Probe seines professionellen Könnens dar. Leider wird die Technik der Notation an Ausbildungsstätten in Serbien kaum unterrichtet, unseres Wissens erst mit der ersten Bologna-Generation von Studenten an der Universität Belgrad. Dies ist besonders bedauerlich, da eine Gedächtnisleistung von ca. 7 Minuten eine normale Praxisanforderung darstellt. Entwicklungsgeschichtlich gesehen unterscheiden wir drei Schulen der Notation; die Genfer Schule (Rozan), die Pariser Schule (Seleskovich) und die Heidelberger Schule (Matyssek). Trotz unterschiedlicher Herangehensweisen sind sich alle Autoren darin einig, dass die Notation drei Grundprinzipien befolgen muss: 1. Individualität, 2. Ökonomie und 3. schnelle Erfassbarkeit. In einem kongititven Ansatz der Translationswissenschaft erscheinen auch die Auseinandersetzungen darüber, ob eine sprachenunabhängige oder sprachenübergreifende, eine ausgangssprachliche, zielsprachliche oder gemischtsprachliche Notation praktiziert werden soll, in einem völlig anderen Licht. Fassen wir die Notationssprache als Sprache und den Notationstext als anszillären Text unter solipsitischen Verarbeitungsbedingungen auf, so kann man die Notation als das untersuchen, betrachten und vermitteln, was sie eigentlich ist – ein Werkzeug des

Dolmetschers zur Stütze seines Gedächtnisses, zum Abruf der im Kurzzeitgedächtnis gespeicherten Inhalte.

**SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER:** Translation, Vollzugsarten, Dolmetschen, Übersetzen, Konferenzdolmetschen, CI, Notation, Grundprinzipien, Genfer Schule, Pariser Schule, Heidelberger Schule, Notizensprache, Notationstext.

## ■ KORPUSNA LINGVISTIKA KAO OSNOVNA PARADIGMA ISTRAŽIVANJA JEZIKA

### 1. UVOD

Promovisanje termina *korpusna lingvistika* devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka je predstavljalo važnu prekretnicu u procesu prerastanja korpusnog pristupa istraživanju jezika u jednu od preovlađujućih lingvističkih metodologija (Leon 2007: 36). Nalazeći se pod dominacijom generativnog pristupa, on je egzistirao na marginama jezičkog istraživanja. Od pedesetih godina prošlog veka taj pristup lingvistici počeo je da dobija sve veći broj privrženika čime i njegov značaj raste. A u novije vreme on konačno dobija svoje mesto koje mu zaslužen i pripada.

Objavljivanjem niza radova pedesetih i šezdesetih godina prošlog veka Noam Čomski je premestio fokus lingvistike se empirizma ka racionalizmu. Jezička *kompetencija* postaje najvažniji pojam lingvističkog proučavanja. Kritičari korpusnog pristupa jezik u upotrebi smatraju siromašnim ogledalom kompetencije, a korpus siromašnim sredstvom za modeliranje kompetencije. Međutim, kritika koju Čomski iznosi je sa jedne strane usporila razvoj korpusne lingvistike, dok je sa druge strane imala pozitivan uticaj. Kao direktni odgovor na kritiku javila su se mnoga poboljšanja i u teoriji i u praksi korpusnog pristupa (kao na primer reprezentativnost i nepristrasnost izvora) (McEnery i Wilson 2001: 5). Možda zbog pomenutih poboljšanja u narednim decenijama prepoznate su, ili ponovo otkrivene, prednosti istraživanja jezika zasnovanog na autentičnom jeziku. Povećanjem interesovanja za korpusnu lingvistiku osamdesetih godina prošlog veka pojavilo se sve više argumenata u korist korpusnog pristupa.

Naravno, rad sa prirodnim jezikom i empirijski pristup lingvističkoj analizi nije nova stvar i datira mnogo pre pojave prvih modernih korpusnih lingvista. Prvi filolozi su još uvideli, u toj eri empirijskog istraživanja, da su im, pre nego što mogu doneti bilo kakve zaključke o funkcionisanju jezika, potrebni pouzdani jezički podaci. Pronašli su ih u velikim skupovima teksta koji su zamišljeni da predstavljaju reprezentativni uzorak prirodnog jezika. Rad sa skupovima prirodnog jezika je vezan za formulisanje zakonitosti koje proizilaze iz semantičkih obeležja jezika. Jer, dok je sposobnost govora urođena svakom članu jedne društvene zajednice, jezik koji proizvodimo, odnosno značenje koje iskazujemo, je gotovo potpuno društveno uslovljeno. Rezultat toga je da je jezik proizvod proizvoljnog idiosinkretizma i anomalija u jednakoj meri

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sa zakonitostima gramatike koje deluju unutar njega. Prirodni jezik u svakodnevnoj upotrebi je sistem u kome je funkcionisanje unutrašnjih elemenata određeno ne zakonitostima spoljnog sveta nego dogovorom oko značenja unutar samog jezika.

Ovakva samoreferentnost jezika i oslanjanje na društveno iskustvo ukazuje na to da empirijski pristup lingvistici koji se ogleda u korpusnom istraživanju ne vuče korene iz opisivanja ontoloških jezičkih univerzalija. Primarna svrha korpusne lingvistike je opisivanje sadržaja i odnosa unutar autentičnog jezika, i izučavanje diskursa kao medijatora znanja i društvenih normi. Korpusni pristup posmatra zakonitosti u jeziku kao uslovljene fundamentalnom praktičnom upotrebom u društvenoj interakciji zajedno sa relevantnim kognitivnim i pragmatičkim implikacijama (Hopper 1998: 156).

Ipak, nasuprot očiglednom značaju i pogodnostima korpusa kao podloge za naučno istraživanje činjenica je da je takav pristup, kako ga vidi korpusna lingvistika, na domaćoj lingvističkoj sceni relativno zapostavljen. Jezičke teorije se često ne verifikuju ispravnim kvantitativnim metodama nego samo sopstvenom introspekcijom, dok relevantnih računarskih korpusa srpskog jezika praktično i nema.

## 2. NOVA PARADIGMA ISTRAŽIVANJA JEZIKA

Ono što čini ovaj pristup lingvističkom istraživanju toliko značajnim je činjenica da se može postaviti kao nova paradigma istraživanja jezika nasuprot onoj zastupljenoj u *univerzalnoj gramatici* (universal grammar). Pojava koncepata *uslovljene gramatike* (emergent grammar) (Hopper 1998) i *funkcionalne gramatike* (functional grammar) (Halliday 1985) poslužila je za postavljanje primarnih teorijskih podloga empirijskoj analizi jezičkih zakonitosti. Pragmatički pristup gramatici pokazuje da jezičke strukture proizilaze iz upotrebe jezika i da su prvenstveno oblikovane i prethodnim diskursom, odnosno prethodnim jezičkim iskustvom i trenutnim diskursom koji je u toku. Kroz svoju društveno-interaktivnu i kognitivnu dimenziju ovakav pogled na gramatiku kroz korpusni metod posmatra jezik u stanju neprekidne promene. Jezičke strukture su samo delimično ili potpuno okamenjene formacije nastale sedimentacijom često upotrebljivanih oblika čija upotreba zavisi od datog konteksta. Gramatika očigledno nije povlastica pojedinca koju on može upotrebljavati po svom nađenju, već je gramatika stvar društvenog dogovora unutar jedne diskursne zajednice i zavisi od komunikacijske potrebe u datom trenutku. Zbog toga u ovakvom korpusnom pristupu nema mesta teoretisanju o velikim istinama urođene *jezičke kompetencije*. Jezik je neraskidivo vezan za društvo i jedino se kao takav može i analizirati. Fokus je na *jezičkoj performans* (*language performance*). Dalje razumevanje i potvrda semantički baziranih teorija o jeziku će sigurno proisteći iz analize velikih skupova teksta, odnosno korpusa (Sinclair 1991: 489).

## 3. KORPUS

Korpus u svom osnovnom značenju predstavlja skup teksta, bilo pisanog ili govornog jezika. Ipak, posmatrano sa stanovišta korpusne lingvistike, postoji određena

distinkcija unutar samog termina. Skup ili arhiva tekstova koji ne moraju biti podvrgnuti selekciji i ne moraju poštovati određene zahteve niti lingvističke kriterijume se opisuje kao *zbirka tekstova*. Zbirke tekstova, u koje spadaju na primer jedna knjiga ili snimak neke televizijske emisije ne predstavljaju dobru polaznu tačku u istraživanju, jer jezik koji se nalazi unutar tako malog uzorka nikako ne može biti dovoljno reprezentativan. Recimo da se u jednoj analizi istražuje upotreba ličnih zamenica muškog i ženskog roda kao pokazatelja indirektno diskriminacije u jeziku. Za korpus se odabere desetak ili dvadeset knjiga, na primer. Posle izvršene analize sve što se može reći o rezultatima je da je taj broj pisaca na takav i takav način upotrebio date zamenice. Teško se na osnovu takvog nereprezentativnog uzorka može ozbiljno tvrditi da su rezultati do kojih se došlo takvom analizom primenljivi na celokupni jezik. Iako ni korpusi o kojima je reč u ovom radu ne predstavljaju jedan jezik u svojoj celokupnosti, širina i nepristrasnost uzoraka koji čine takve korpusse ipak dozvoljavaju mnogo bolju podlogu za takve generalne tvrdnje.

U korpusnoj lingvistici, kao i u daljem tekstu, termin *korpus* se prvenstveno odnosi na *računarski korpus*. Računarski korpusi su kodirani i standardizovani, optimizovani za pretragu i analizu i nalaze se pothranjeni u računarskim bazama. Obično se sastoje od više miliona reči iz različitih jezičkih i društvenih izvora i idealno obuhvataju sve moguće pojave jednog jezika „uhvaćene“ u vremenu i pretočene u elektronski tekstualni oblik.

Postoje korpusi različitih veličina i strukture (*opšti* i *specijalni* korpusi) namenjeni različitim vrstama lingvističke analize. Specijalni korpusi su sakupljeni tako da predstavljaju samo određeni varijetet jezika relevantan za neko polje istraživanja (npr. Korpus kontrole leta (*Air Traffic Control Corpus*)). Opšti korpusi su privlačniji široj paleti naučnih polja kako njihov dizajn predstavlja celokupnu formu jednog jezika u svojoj prirodnoj upotrebi. Najvredniji korpusi opšteg tipa su *monitoring* korpusi. To su korpusi koji održavaju svoju reprezentativnost stalnim dodavanjem novih delova jezika i stalnim proširivanjem varijeteta u njima.

Sledi da je bitno ispravno odabrati i definisati korpus za analizu da bi se osigurala relevantnost povratnih informacija. Prema delu prirodnog jezika koji predstavlja dati korpus postavlja se i opseg i cilj jezičkog istraživanja. Na primer, ako je korpus sastavljen od akademskih tekstova teško se može očekivati da pruži podlogu za analizu varijeteta jezika.

Najvažnija osobina jednog korpusa je njegova reprezentativnost. Reprezentativnost jednog korpusa, a posledično i rezultata koje taj korpus pruža prilikom neke analize, postiže se ne veličinom nego prvenstveno raznolikošću, odnosno pravilnim i planiranim odabirom izvora pri konstrukciji. Korpus mora sadržati što je moguće širi raspon jezičke građe sa uzorcima jednakih veličina, a svi izvori moraju biti precizno deklarirani i obeleženi.

Takođe se mora imati na umu i sinhrona ili dijahrona dimenzija jednog korpusa, gde dijahroni korpusi dodaju dimenziju analize istorijskog razvoja teksta.

Reprezentativnost i ispravno definisanje i odabir korpusa pri analizi je od ključne važnosti da bi se dato istraživanje zaštitilo od toga da korpus slučajno ne predstavlja bilo koju relevantnu promenljivu u dovoljnom stepenu u kome bi se našla u stvarnoj komunikaciji. Takvi se pak nedostaci mogu donekle popraviti primenom raznih modela statističke verovatnoće.

Jedan od prvih i najpoznatijih računarskih korpusa je svakako *Britanski nacionalni korpus* (British National Corpus). To je veliki računarski korpus koji se sastoji od preko 100 miliona reči iz pisanih i govornih izvora. Izvori 75% pisanog jezika su uglavnom informativni tekstovi iz oblasti nauke, religije, ekonomije, filozofije, umetnosti i medija, dok je 25% odvojeno za književna dela. Usmeni jezik je zastupljen u oko 10 miliona reči i sastavljen je od transkripta spontanijih razgovora, skriptovanih razgovora, javnih govora i usmenog jezika u medijima. Korpus je etiketiran za vrste reči i većina frekvencijskih pretraga se ne naplaćuje. Zbog svoje veličine i reprezentativnosti Britanski nacionalni korpus se smatra najboljim postojećim korpusom britanskog engleskog jezika i može se pronaći na <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>.

Među slične korpusne spadaju i:

- Korpus savremenog američkog engleskog jezika (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*): monitoring korpus opšteg tipa sa 360 miliona reči na adresi <http://www.americancorpus.org/>;
- Korpus australijskog engleskog jezika (*Australian Corpus of English*): monitoring korpus opšteg tipa sa 1 milionom reči na adresi <http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/>;
- Kembridžov međunarodni korpus (*Cambridge International Corpus*): višejezični korpus specijalnog tipa sa 275 miliona reči na adresi <http://www.cambridge.org/elt/corpus/>;
- Ruski nacionalni korpus (*Russian National Corpus*): monitoring korpus opšteg tipa sa 150 miliona reči na adresi <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/en/index.html>;
- Nacionalni korpus hrvatskog jezika: monitoring korpus opšteg tipa sa 30 miliona reči na adresi <http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/>;
- Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika: korpus opšteg tipa sa 24 miliona reči na adresi <http://korpus.matf.bg.ac.yu/prezentacija/korpus.html>;
- Korpus srpskog jezika: korpus opšteg tipa sa 12 miliona reči na adresi <http://www.serbian-corpus.edu.rs/indexns.htm>.

Drugi poznati korpusi su: Korpus starogrčkog jezika (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*), Francuska međujezička baza (*French Interlanguage Database*), Lankasterski korpus mandarinskog kineskog (*Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese*), Korpus dečjeg jezika (*Child Language Data Exchange System*), Vulverhempton korpus engleskog poslovnog jezika (*Wolverhampton Business English Corpus*), Korpus srednjevekovnog engleskog stiha i proze (*Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*), itd.

#### 4. TERMINOLOGIJA

Svrha ovog poglavlja je da predstavi neke od osnovnih termina korpusne lingvistike. Termini će biti predstavljeni u izvornom obliku na engleskom jeziku, a potom prevedeni i dodatno objašnjeni:

*coding* – kodiranje. Postupak dodavanja dodatnih lingvističkih informacija u tekstove unutar korpusa;

*tagged/untagged corpora* – etiketirani/neetiketirani korpusi. Etiketiranje<sup>1</sup> je komplikovani proces dodavanja dodatnih informacija u korpus. Informacije se mogu ticati obeležavanja reči po gramatičkoj kategoriji, rodu, broju, morfološkim i fonološkim karakteristikama, itd. Etiketirani korpusi su oni koji sadrže neke od pomenutih dodatnih informacija a neetiketirani sadrže samo tekst bez dodatnih lingvističkih podataka;

*parsing* – parsiranje. Postupak dovođenja morfosintaksičkih kategorije u tekstu u međusobne sintaksičke odnose višeg stepena. Parsiranje je postupak odvajanja rečeničnih delova i opisivanje odnosa između njih. Parsiranjem se određuje sintaksička struktura rečenice i retki su korpusi koji poseduju ovakav napredni nivo kodiranja;

*type vs. token* – tip i token. *Tip* se odnosi na kvalitativnu analizu i predstavlja istraživanje vezano za određene tipove reči (npr. određene vrste reči ili određene gramatičke kategorije) ili lekseme, dok se *token* odnosi na pojedinačno javljanje neke reči čija frekventnost spada u polje kvantitativne analize;

*raw frequency count; operation* – sirova frekventnost; operacija. Oba termina znače isto a odnose se na neobrađene podatke o brojnosti analizirane lingvističke jedinice u korpusu. Na te brojčane vrednosti frekventnosti se dalje primenjuju razne matematičke i statističke funkcije u cilju dobijanja podataka na osnovu kojih se mogu izvlačiti određeni zaključci;

*concordancer* – konkordanser. Da bi se došlo do rezultata frekventnosti pri analizi nekog korpusa koriste se posebni računarski programi koji se nazivaju *konkordanseri*. Konkordanseri dozvoljavaju razne vrste pretraga korpusa, od jednostavne analize frekventnosti, preko istraživanja po vrsti reči ili morfološkim nastavcima, istraživanja kolokacija pa sve do fonoloških pretraga teksta. Pored svoje korisnosti, jedna od prednosti konkordansera je i ta što su veoma jednostavni za upotrebu.<sup>2</sup> Svi korpusi koji se mogu pronaći na Internetu dolaze sa sopstvenim ugrađenim konkordanserima.

## 5. OSNOVNE KARAKTERISTIKE KORPUSNOG PRISTUPA

Korpusni pristup je primenljiv na više različitih polja, koje čine samo jezgro lingvistike kao nauke:

- leksikografija (upotreba korpusa je veoma rasprostranjena pri pravljenju rečnika);
- sociolingvistika (korpusni pristup omogućuje istraživanje dijalekata, registara i samog društva);
- analiza diskursa (ovakav pristup obezbeđuje dovoljno velike uzorke diskursa omogućujući time pronalaženje karakteristika jezika bez strukturalnih ograničenja);
- morfologija (rezultati dobijeni pri analizi korpusa mogu otkriti mnogo o frekventnosti, distribuciji i ulozi raznih oblika leksema);
- fonologija (računarski korpusi mogu pružiti uvid u različite pojave fonetske distribucije i pomoći u pronalaženju zakonitosti);

- semantika (teško je pronaći pristup koji može pružiti toliko podataka o značenju reči kao korpusni pristup);
- sintaksa (istraživanje jezičkih struktura na ovakav način može pružiti empirijske dokaze o tome kako pristupamo konstruisanju rečenica i kako se izražavamo kroz jezik);
- komparativna i kontrastivna lingvistika (postojanje paralelnih korpusa može otkriti sličnosti i razlike među jezicima);
- metodika nastave (korpusi mogu pomoći pri dizajniranju materijala i aktivnosti za učenje jezika);
- kognitivna lingvistika (autentična prirodna upotreba jezika smeštena u korpusne daje uvid u način na koji mentalni procesi utiču na komunikaciju i na jezik u celini).

Zajedničko svakoj analizi koja bi potekla iz bilo koje od nabrojanih lingvističkih disciplina je to da je prilaz istraživanju najčešće induktivnog, a ne uobičajenog hipotetičko–deduktivnog karaktera. To znači da su katalizatori istraživanja konkretni podaci koji usmeravaju teorijske zaključke (*data-driven* pristup) umesto prethodno zamišljenih pravila i teorija.

Korpusni pristup analizi jezika ima nekoliko osnovnih odlika koje omogućavaju skoro svaku vrstu lingvističke analize, a svakog lingvistu čine potencijalnim korisnikom korpusa. U pitanju su sledeće odlike korpusnog pristupa:

- empirijskog je karaktera budući da se bavi analizom komunikacije u njenom prirodnom obliku;
- analiza se zasniva na velikim skupovima teksta koji predstavlja jezik, a koji se nazivaju korpusi;
- koriste se računari u istraživanju;
- fokus je na jezičkoj *performansi* umesto na jezičkoj *kompetenciji*;
- radi se o *kvantitativnom* i *kvalitativnom* modelu proučavanja jezika (Leech 1992: 106-107).

Svaka od ovih osobina čini korpusni pristup lingvistici veoma atraktivnim i privlačnijim od drugih pristupa istraživanju jezika. Činjenica da je empirijskog karaktera ukazuje na to da se radi ne o veštački stvorenom jezičkom skupu nego o prirodnom tekstu. S obzirom na to da je reč o veoma velikim i reprezentativnim skupovima autentičnog jezika moguće je zamisliti koliko opcija ovakav pristup pruža u pravcu mogućih tema otvorenih za istraživanje. Dalje, upotreba računara i računarskih programa pruža lingvistima mogućnost da izađu na kraj sa veoma kompleksnim analizama velikih baza podataka pružajući visok stepen tačnosti rezultata analize.

## 6. JEDINICE ANALIZE

Kao što je već pomenuto, računarski korpusi se mogu koristiti kod različitih vrsta istraživanja jezika. Jezičke jedinice analize se razlikuju od istraživanja do istraživanja, od manjih segmenata u fonologiji i morfologiji do složenijih jedinica

u sintaksičkoj i posebno u semantičkoj analizi. Upravo jedinice semantičke analize zbog svoje kompleksnosti zahtevaju detaljnije definisanje sa stanovišta korpusnog istraživanja.

Iz perspektive korpusne lingvistike leksičke jedinice mogu biti pojedinačne reči ili složenije značenjske jedinice. One su u principu *monosemne*. To je ono što razlikuje pojam leksičke jedinice od pojma reč. Većina reči je zapravo *polisemna*. Složene leksičke jedinice se mogu posmatrati kao osnovna reč zajedno sa svim rečima u kontekstu sa kojima formira jednu semantičku jedinicu (Teubert 2005:4). Sve dok je značenje takve jedinice nejasno ona nije potpuna. Potpuna je samo kada predstavlja jedno jedinstveno značenje kao jedna jezička celina bez obzira na broj reči.

## 7. KVANTITATIVNA I KVALITATIVNA ANALIZA

Korpusna lingvistika poseduje još jednu prednost. Zakonitosti i zaključci koji proizilaze iz istraživanja korpusa zasnivaju i na *kvalitativnoj* i na *kvantitativnoj* analizi. Kvalitativna dimenzija istraživanja se odnosi na istraživanje jezičkih pojava kao određenih tipova, predstavnika svoje jezičke grupe (npr. istraživanje imenica, ili određenih morfoloških nastavaka, kao predstavnika jedne klase) dok se kvantitativna analiza odnosi na frekventnost pojedinačnih jezičkih jedinica, odnosno *tokena*. Kvalitativna analiza uveliko zavisi od nivoa etiketiranosti korpusa i prilično je težak zadatak ako se izvodi na velikim skupovima teksta, tako da je rezervisana prvenstveno za korpusne manjeg obima. Kvalitativna analiza se često koristi kao katalizator prvih teorija koje se zatim ispituju na većem uzorku jezika mnogo robusnijom metodom kvantitativne analize. Kvantitativna analiza je fokusirana prvenstveno na frekventnost tokena i služi da se kroz upotrebu pojedinačnih jedinica provere teorije postavljene za ponašanje prethodno kvalitativno ispitanih tipova.

## 8. FREKVENTNOST I STATISTIČKA ANALIZA

Osnovni parametar zakonitosti unutar jednog korpusa jeste frekventnost referentnih jezičkih jedinica (fonema, morfema, leksema, semema) uzetih kao sadržaj analize. Frekventnost označava koliko se puta neka jezička jedinica pojavljuje u određenom korpusnom kontekstu, što posle dozvoljava konstruisanje određenih zaključaka vezanih za temu istraživanja.

Brojčane vrednosti frekventnosti služe kao podloga za ono što čini samu srž korpusne lingvistike: statističku analizu. Razne vrste statističke obrade podataka su zapravo materija koja daje čvrstu empirijsku bazu i služi kao izvor svakoj posledičnoj teoriji o nekoj jezičkoj pojavi. Statistički proračuni se koriste i kod izračunavanja verovatnoće pojave jezičke jedinice u pretpostavljenom diskursu teorijski neograničene veličine. Statistička analiza je obavezan deo svakog korpusnog istraživanja jer ona ne samo da daje temelj teoretisanju o određenim jezičkim zakonitostima i izračunavanju verovatnoće, nego i potvrđuje naučnu vrednost podataka verifikujući ih ili kao nasumične ili kao lingvistički relevantne (Johnson 2008:5).

Čini se nedopustivo da i danas postoje razne teorije i tvrdnje iznete na osnovu analize datog korpusa bez prethodne statističke verifikacije polaznih podataka. Da bi se kategorički moglo tvrditi da rezultati dobijeni iz jednog korpusa nisu samo puka slučajnost i da bi se dobijene vrednosti sa uzorka mogle generalno proširiti na jezik u celini potrebno ih je matematički obraditi i statistički potvrditi. Razlog za izbegavanje statističkih metoda u lingvistici je verovatno taj što sve te matematičke formule izgledaju strano većini lingvista pa ih većina i izbegavaju. Međutim, izbegavati takve naučne metode nije ispravno jer inače dobijeni rezultati ostaju i dalje u teorijskom nedokazanom obliku. Izbegavanje statističkih metoda je dalje neopravdano jer pored mogućnosti okretanja profesionalnoj pomoći (statističarima), postoje i razna softverska rešenja koja olakšavaju ovakve nepopularne procedure.

## 9. KONTEKSTUALIZACIJA

Pored rada sa autentičnim jezikom i pored činjenice da većina prihvatljivih računarskih korpusa, osim diskursne reprezentativnosti, obezbeđuju etiketiranjem i dodatne informacije o jezičkim jedinicama, korpusni pristup poseduje još jednu prednost, a to je kontekst. Kontekst igra jednu od presudnih uloga u odabiru gramatičkih rešenja koje ćemo koristiti u datoj komunikacionoj situaciji. Jasno je da su onda informacije o kontekstu i okolnostima komunikacije od neizmerne važnosti. Svaki korpus pruža precizno definisani uvid u kontekstualnu situaciju u kojoj je dati tekst proizveden, što nam daje kontrolu nad još jednom varijablom u istraživanju dajući nam na taj način više kontrole nad istraživanjem.

## 10. VRSTE REZULTATA

Korpusna lingvistika daje opšte i pojedinačne teorije o diskursu bazirane na analizi odgovarajućeg preseka diskursa, što zapravo korpus i predstavlja. Opšte zakonitosti su vezane za pravila ili statističku verovatnoću određenih pojava i spadaju uglavnom u domen istraživanja gramatike kao funkcije semantike ako se analizirana jezička jedinica može smatrati tipom. Pojedinačne zakonitosti se tiču tumačenja datih delova teksta ne kao predstavnika svojih klasa nego kao jedinstvenih komunikacijskih pojava, odnosno tokena. Pribavljeni rezultati uvek za cilj imaju teoretisanje na osnovu sistematično klasifikovanih lingvističkih elemenata iz date korpusne analize kroz niz deduktivnih procesa. Tako dobijene teorije uvek nastaju kao opisi jezičke performanse i zakonitosti upotrebe, značenja jezika ili relevantnih kognitivnih procesa.

## 11. OGRANIČENJA KORPUSNOG PRISTUPA

Najveći nedostatak korpusnog pristupa lingvistici može se sumirati u sledećoj izjavi: „Mislim da ne postoji takav korpus, ma koliko bio veliki, koji bi posedovao dovoljno podataka o svim oblastima leksikona i gramatike [engleskog] jezika koje bih ja



želeo da analiziram [...].<sup>3</sup> Tačno je da zamerke koje stižu na račun korpusne lingvistike, koje tvrde kako bilo koji obim autentičnog jezika i komunikacije nikada neće uspeti da predstavi apsolutno sve oblike jezika imaju određenu težinu, jer se ni svi teoretski postojeći oblici ne pojavljuju u stvarnoj komunikaciji zbog kontekstualnih ograničenja i rutinske dimenzije upotrebe jezika. Potpuno je tačno da i najreprezentativniji računarski korpusi koji postoje predstavljaju samo jedan, veći ili manji, presek apsolutnog diskursa, i vrlo je verovatno da ni stvaran jezik i stvarna jezička izvedba zapravo i ne proizvodi sve zamišljene oblike jezika. Da i pored ovakvih teorijskih nedostataka, koji se ne uklapaju u učenje univerzalne gramatike, korpusni pristup zaslužuje centralno mesto u proučavanju jezika potvrđuje nastavak prethodno spomenute izjave: „[...] ali svaki korpus koji sam imao prilika da analiziram, bez obzira na to koliko je mali bio, prikazao mi je činjenice koje ne bih ni na kakav drugi zamisliv način mogao pronaći.”<sup>4</sup>

## 12. KORPUSNA LINGVISTIKA I RAČUNARSKI KORPUSI U SRBIJI

Pored detaljno opisanih uslova koji čine računarske korpuse prihvatljivim u empirijskom naučnom istraživanju najvažniji uslov je naravno postojanje samog reprezentativnog računarskog korpusa. Može se činiti iz svega što je navedeno kako se takav uslov mora uzeti kao dat jer je postojanje jedne tako bitne stvari sigurno zagarantovano. Nažalost to nije slučaj sa srpskim jezikom (Dobrić 2009), iako rad na računarskim korpusima ima dugu istoriju na ovim prostorima. Prvi korpus srpskog (srpsko-hrvatskog) jezika napravljen je samo godinu dana posle prvog većeg računarskog korpusa u svetu.<sup>5</sup> Rad na korpusima i učestvovanje na velikim međunarodnim projektima je trajao sve do devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka, kada je saradnja prekinuta. U poslednjih desetak godina bilo je pokušaja da se saradnja nastavi, ali u nedovoljnom obimu. Takođe je i primetan nedostatak opšteg nacionalnog korpusa srpskog jezika.<sup>6</sup>

Trenutno postoje samo dva računarska korpusa srpskog jezika (Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika i Korpus srpskog jezika) koji nažalost ne ispunjavaju potrebne kriterijume. Nedostaci datih korpusa se tiču prvenstveno reprezentativnosti, jer prvo ni jedan od njih nema u izvore uvršten govorni jezik, što je velika mana. Dalje, *Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika*, koji je proizišao iz projekta *Matematička i računarska lingvistika 1981. godine* pod vođstvom Duška Vitasa, i posle postavljanja na internet većim delom ostaje neetiketiran. Izvori za 24 miliona reči, od kojih dve trećine čine tekstovi iz Politike, nisu ni približno dovoljno raznovrsni. Ni *Korpus srpskog jezika*, vizionarski započet još 1957. od strane Đorđa Kostića, kao deo velikog jezičkog projekta socijalističke Jugoslavije na kome su učestvovali i Rudolf Filipović i Željko Bujas (Tadić 1997: 388), ne zadovoljava kriterijume reprezentativnosti. Korpus je pretvoren u elektronski tekst 1996. od strane Aleksandra Kostića, koji je nastavio očev rad, i sadrži 11 miliona reči. Korpus poseduje odličnu dijahronu dimenziju sa izvorima počevši od 12. veka. Nedostaci se tiču sinhronu dimenzije jezika koja praktično ne postoji, jer nedostaju uzorci savremenog srpskog jezika<sup>7</sup>.

Zbog opisanih nedostataka postojeći korpusi nisu dovoljno pogodni da bi mogli pretpostaviti da predstavljaju celokupni diskurs srpskog društva, što je ciljani oblik koji



je od najveće koristi društvenim naukama. Očigledno je da srpskoj naučnoj zajednici nedostaje višemilionski nacionalni korpus (Tadić, 1990) koji bi služio kao riznica srpskog jezika i koristio sveukupnoj paleti naučnih disciplina koje mogu svoje istraživanje bazirati na jeziku. Neophodno je sastavljanje novog, sveobuhvatnijeg nacionalnog korpusa srpskog jezika, koji bi obuhvatio i govorni i pisani jezik iz što je moguće više različitih izvora jezika i koji bi konstantno bio održavan i proširivan novim jezičkim pojavama na nivou državnog projekta.

- 1 Proces se naziva i anotiranje (Kostić 2003: 260).
- 2 Za više informacija o konkordanserima pogledati Bol (Ball 1996).
- 3 "I don't think there can be any corpora, however large, that contain information about all of the areas of English lexicon and grammar that I want to explore [...]". (Fillmore 1992: 35)
- 4 "[...] but every corpus I have had the chance to examine, however small, has taught me facts I couldn't imagine finding out any other way." (Fillmore 1992: 35)
- 5 Brown korpus ([http://www.essex.ac.uk/linguistics/clmt/w3c/corpus\\_ling/content/corpora/list/private/brown/brown.html](http://www.essex.ac.uk/linguistics/clmt/w3c/corpus_ling/content/corpora/list/private/brown/brown.html))
- 6 Autor je više pisao o istoriji korpusnog pristupa u Srbiji u preglednom članku koji će uskoro biti objavljen.
- 7 Važno je napomenuti da je Korpus srpskog jezika potpuno ručno etiketiran za gramatički status, broj grafema, slogova, za fonološku strukturu i za početak i kraj rečenica. Ovakav nivo etiketiranja je veoma redak i čini ovaj korpus jednim od najvećih ručno obrađenih korpusa u svetu (Kostić 2003: 260).

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## SUMMARY

### CORPUS LINGUISTICS AS THE BASIC PARADIGM OF LANGUAGE RESEARCH

The introspection-based analysis has been the prevailing linguistic paradigm for a long time. The corpus approach in its contemporary framework marks the return of linguistics within the boundaries of empirically founded sciences, where a scientific discipline which studies language surely does belong. This paper first elaborates on the advantages of such a research approach which focuses on the language community using a given language and the nuances of their usage. The paper goes on to describe the basic characteristics of the corpus approach to linguistics. In the end the paper stresses the importance of constructing a general representative computer corpus of the Serbian language.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** korpus, diskurs, frekventnost, token, konkordanser, statistika.



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## ■ REČNIK SAMJUELA DŽONSONA

Samjuel Džonson (Samuel Johnson) bio je jedan od najistaknutijih ljudi od pera u Engleskoj osamnaestog veka. Kao pesnik, esejista, književni kritičar, urednik, romanopisac, biograf i leksikograf dao je veliki doprinos engleskom jeziku i književnosti. Kako se 2009. godine obeležava tristogodišnjica njegovog rođenja (1709-1784), u ovom tekstu podsetićemo se Džonsona kao velikog leksikografa.

Osamnaesti vek kao zlatno doba kodifikacije engleskog jezika u preskriptivno-normativnom duhu nesumnjivo predstavlja 'doba rečnika', budući da dotadašnja leksikografska praksa doživljava svoj vrhunac upravo sa Džonsonovim rečnikom pod nazivom *Dictionary of the English Language*.

Od 1694. kada je u Francuskoj uspešno završen rad na rečniku (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*) pod okriljem jezičke akademije, sve češće se na tlu Britanije isticala potreba za usavršavanjem engleskog jezika. Pored toga, postojalo je mišljenje da je u poređenju sa latinskim i grčkim, engleski podložan stalnim promenama. Tako počinju da se kristališu stavovi da jezik treba usavršiti i regularizovati, a potom sačuvati od promena i kvarenja. Postojali su predlozi da bi taj zadatak trebalo prepustiti stručnjacima pod okriljem neke državne odnosno kraljevske institucije. Osnivanje akademija u drugim zemljama, prvo u Italiji 1572, a zatim u Francuskoj 1635, predstavljalo je veliki podsticaj za širenje takvih ideja. Pobožnici akademije bili su i veliki pisci poput Džona Drajdena (John Dryden), Danijela Defoa (Daniel Defoe), Džozefa Adisona (Joseph Addison) i Džonatana Svifta (Jonathan Swift). Međutim, postojali su i protivnici ideje o osnivanju akademije, a među njima je bio i Džonson, koji je kritikovao Sviftov predlog, a u delu *Lives of the Poets*, piše o neodrživosti akademije kao jezičkog autoriteta, jer bi njene „naredbe verovatno čitali mnogi samo da bi mogli biti sigurni da ih se neće pridržavati“ budući da je smatrao da je za tadašnje Britance bilo karakteristično da „ismevaju autoritete“ (ceo citat u Wells 1973: 37).

Ipak, Adisonov predlog o rečniku koji bi sadržavao citate iz književnosti bio je poznat Samjuelu Džonsonu. Kada mu se obratila jedna grupa knjižara sa predlogom da sačini novi rečnik, Džonson ga je prihvatio.

U tekstu *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (Johnson 1746: 45-62) koji je uputio Lordu Česterfildu (Earl of Chesterfield), Džonson izražava nadu da će njegov rečnik služiti kao instrument za stabilizaciju jezika. U Planu se navode teškoće

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u odabiru jezičkog materijala koji treba uvrstiti u rečnik. Iako je glavna svrha izrade rečnika da „očuva čistotu i ustanovi značaj“ engleskog jezika, on mora sadržati i strane reči mada se „sve one ne smatraju na isti način delom našeg jezika, jer su neke od njih naturalizovane i inkorporirane, a druge su još uvek stranci“. Od reči „koje još uvek imaju status stranih, i nisu pristupile procesu asimilacije, neke izgleda treba zadržati jer kupci rečnika očekuju da ih nađu.“ Po njegovom mišljenju rečnik „do izvesnog stepena treba da sadrži i neke osobene reči svake profesije“, a pošto se „vrednost jednog dela mora procenjivati kroz njegovu upotrebu: nije dovoljno da rečnik oduševljava kritičare ukoliko u isto vreme ne obrazuje one koji žele da uče“, i zato nije mudro isključiti terminologiju nauka i umetnosti.

Nakon izbora leksičke građe, naredni posao tiče se ortografije koja je uveliko „proizvod slučajnosti“, te „još uvek postoji velika nesigurnost i među najboljim kritičarima“. Uprkos takvom stanju u ortografiji, Džonson predlaže da se ne pristupa nikakvim inovacijama bez preke potrebe jer „svaka promena je sama po sebi zlo“. On ističe da je „izgovor tesno povezan sa ortografijom, a regularizacija izgovora je od velike važnosti za postojanost jezika, jer će prve promene prirodno započeti sa nepravilnostima u živom govoru“.

Pošto je cilj rečnika da stabilizuje engleski jezik, posebna pažnja biće posvećena određivanju „akcentuacije višesložnih reči uz pomoć pravih autoriteta“, jer je izgovor „jedan od kapricioznih fenomena koji se ne mogu lako podvesti pod pravila“.

Potom sledi rad na „etimologiji ili derivaciji“, jer engleski nije „primitivan niti samonikao, već je prihvatio reči svake generacije,“ kao što je primio i „dodatne reči iz vrlo različitih regija; tako da u traganju za precima našeg govora moramo lutati od tropskih do ledenih zona da bismo neke našli u dolini Palestine, a neke na norveškim stenama“.

Posle završenog rada na etimologiji trebalo bi se posvetiti problemu analogije jer „kad otkrijemo odakle reči vode poreklo, treba da istražimo koji zakoni nad njima vladaju, i kako se one menjaju različitim nastavcima,“ jer „govor nije nastao od neba datom analogijom. Do nas nije stigao u stanju jednoobraznosti i savršenstva, već je nastao iz potrebe i širio se slučajno, i stoga se sastoji od različitih delova koji su skupljeni zajedno nehatom, izveštačenošću, učenjem, ili neznanjem“.

Reči treba zatim proučavati na osnovu njihovih „različitih odnosa u sintaksi ili konstrukciji“, jer Džonsonu nije poznato „da li je takvog razmatranja bilo u engleskim rečnicima, a gramatičari u tome mogu malo da pomognu“. Sintaksa engleskog jezika je „suviše nestabilna da bi se mogla podvesti pod pravila i može se naučiti samo posebnim razmatranjem određenih reči onako kako ih koriste najbolji autori“.

Potom „pažnju treba posvetiti frazeologiji“, što iziskuje veliki „rad na objašnjenju tih reči i fraza kratko, potpuno i jasno“, a „obim i zamršenost tog zadatka dovoljno su pokazani neuspehom onih koji su to pokušali da urade“. Džonson ne zaboravlja da treba pažljivo uočavati razlike u značenjima reči koje se obično posmatraju kao sinonimi, a mnoge reči treba objasniti kroz antonime jer se „suprotnosti najbolje vide kad stoje zajedno“.

Zatim sledi rad na „raspoređivanju reči u klase“ kao što su npr. „reči u opštoj upotrebi; reči koje se uglavnom koriste u poeziji; zastarele reči; reči koje prihvataju samo određeni pisci, a ipak nisu neprikladne; reči koje se koriste samo u šaljivim

tekstovima; varvarizmi i nepravilne reči". Ove poslednje mogu biti „žigosane nekom beleškom koja ukazuje da su ozloglašene, jer ih treba pažljivo iskoreniti gde god da se nađu, a često ih nalazimo čak i kod najboljih pisaca".

Što se tiče citata koji ilustruju upotrebu, „biće prikladno poštovati očigledno pravilo" tj. trebalo bi „dati prednost piscima najvećeg ugleda nad onima nižeg ranga". Džonson predlaže da se „citati raspoređuju po starosti autora" da bi na taj način „svaka reč imala svoju istoriju".

Ovo je u najkraćim crtama prikaz Plana rečnika kojim „se može stabilizovati izgovor našeg jezika, sačuvati njegova čistota, utvrditi njegova upotreba i produžiti njegova postojanost" (Johnson 1746:62).

Već tokom rada na Rečniku Džonson je postao svestan da svoj plan neće moći u potpunosti da sprovede u delo. Uprkos tome, „Plan ostaje kao izuzetan dokument ... jer za nekog ko nikada nije prikupljao građu za rečnik, Džonsonovo poimanje leksikografskih problema sa kojima će se suočiti je izvanredno" (Landau 1989: 48).

Džonson je započeo rad na rečniku 1747, pošto je potpisao ugovor sa grupom eminentnih izdavača i knjižara. Od Lorda Česterfilda nije dobio nikakvu značajnu novčanu pomoć. Imao je samo šest pomoćnika koji su zajedno sa njim prepisivali citate.

Prema Džonsonovom prvobitnom planu Rečnik je trebalo da bude završen 1750, međutim mukotrpan rad se završio pet godina kasnije tako da je prvi put objavljen u dvotomnom folio izdanju tek u aprilu 1755. Rečnik je štampan na 2.300 strana i sadržao je preko 40.000 odrednica ilustrovanih sa preko 116.000 citata preuzetih iz svih oblasti znanja kao i iz književnosti. Citati iz književnosti preuzeti su od autora koji su pisali u periodu od 1580. do 1660, jer je Džonson smatrao da su dela iz tog perioda „izvori nezagađenog engleskog, kao čista vrela pravih reči i izraza" (Johnson 1773: 145).

U Predgovoru Rečnika Džonson priznaje da njegovo delo ne može da zaustavi jezičke promene tj. da se „izvesno vreme zanosio neosnovanom nadom", a sada uviđa da se „preпустиo očekivanju koje ne mogu opravdati ni razum ni iskustvo", a zatim zaključuje:

Kada vidimo kako iz veka u vek ljudi stare i umiru jedni za drugima u određena vremena, smejemo se eliksiru koji obećava da će produžiti život do hiljadu godina, i sa istim pravom možemo ismevati leksikografa, koji, iako ne može da pokaže primer naroda koji je sačuvao svoje reči i fraze od promena, mašta da njegov rečnik može da balsamuje jezik, i zaštiti ga od propadanja i kvarenja, da je u njegovoj moći da promeni zemaljsku prirodu, ili odmah očisti svet od gluposti, taštine i izveštačenosti. (Johnson 1773: 151)

Međutim, Džonson se nije odricao preskriptivne uloge leksikografa. U vreme rada na Rečniku, u časopisu *Rambler* ukazuje da je cilj njegovog rada „usavršavanje jezika" do „gramatičke čistote" i čišćenje jezika „od kolokvijalnih varvarizama, nedozvoljenih idioma i nepravilnih kombinacija" (citat u Baugh/Cable 1993: 267).

U Predgovoru Rečnika Džonson takođe navodi da se uprkos neumitnim promenama treba boriti za očuvanje jezika jer „život se može produžiti ako vodimo računa o sebi, mada se smrt ne može konačno poraziti: jezici kao i vlade imaju prirodnu sklonost ka

propadanju; očuvali smo svoj ustav tako dugo, hajde da učinimo napor da očuvamo i naš jezik. (Johnson 1773: 151)

Navedeni citat ilustruje Džonsonovo poimanje jezika karakteristično za to doba. Jezik se posmatrao kao živi organizam koji se rađa, propada i konačno umire. Stoga je Džonsonov glavni cilj bio da eksplicitnim normiranjem uspori promene, a time i proces umiranja. Tako je Džonson na sebe preuzeo ulogu koju su u Francuskoj i Italiji imale akademije. U Britaniji i drugim evropskim zemljama njegovo delo često je poređeno sa dostignućima ovih institucija. Neki njegovi sunarodnici isticali su da on na izvestan način predstavlja akademiju za svoju zemlju, i hvalili su ga što je uspeo da „pobedi četrdeset Francuza“ (citat u Mugglestone 1995: 27). Zbog svog doprinosa engleskom jeziku Džonson je 1762. dobio državnu penziju, a 1765. Trinita Koledž u Dublinu dodelio mu je počasnu titulu doktora, što je učinio i Oksfordski univerzitet 1775.

Od 1755. kada je prvi put objavljen u dvotomnom folio izdanju pod nazivom *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Džonsonov rečnik je izazvao krajnje oprečne kritike, mada su pohvale bile mnogo češće. Tako je 1755. Tomas Berč (Thomas Birch) koji je od 1747. pratio izradu rečnika, uputio Džonsonu pismo u kome ističe da zbog ogromnog doprinosa savremenom dobu i potonjim generacijama zaslužuje „odobranje i izraze zahvalnosti od svakog zaštitnika časti engleskog jezika“ (u Sledd/Kolb 1955: 136). Iste godine pojavila se nepotpisana kritika u časopisu *Edinburgh Review* u kojoj se rečnik poredi sa rečnicima francuske i italijanske akademije, a preporučuje se svima koji žele da usavrše svoj jezik, tako da će se „korist od ovog rečnika uskoro osetiti, jer ne postoji standard pravilnog jezika u govoru“ (u Boulton 1971: 115). Hvaleći Džonsona, Tomas Šeridan (Thomas Sheridan) je 1756. napisao da ako engleski „ikada bude stabilizovan“, sve potonje generacije treba da smatraju Džonsona „utemeljivačem, a njegov Rečnik kamenom temeljcem“ (u Baugh/Cable 1993: 268-269). U časopisu *London Chronicle* iz 1757. o Džonsonovom rečniku između ostalog piše:

... ovaj *Momentum Aere Perennius* koji je podigao u čast svog maternjeg jezika, mislimo na njegov Rečnik, u kome je ispunio potrebu za akademijom lepe književnosti, i izveo čuda da bi se utemeljila naša gramatika, i ustanovilo (utvrdilo) određeno značenje reči, za koje se zna da po svojoj prirodi imaju nestabilne i promenljive osobine. Stoga zahvaljujući njegovom radu naši pisci poput Drajdena, Adisona i Poupa neće postati zastareli i nerazumljivi kao Čoser. (citirano u Wells 1973: 44)

Džonsonov biograf Bozvel (Boswell 1906: 8-9) govori o njemu kao o „čovjeku koji je obezbedio stabilnost jeziku svoje zemlje,“ dok je u časopisu *Gentleman* iz 1775, Kolman (Colman) izrazio ubeđenje da će Rečnik zauvek ostati „spomenik učenosti i genija njegovog autora“ (Boulton 1971: 24). Iako je sveštenik Džejms Tauer (Towers) smatrao da Rečnik ima svoje nedostatke, njegova kritika iz 1786. sadrži i reči hvale:

Njegov rečnik je plod velikog rada, i velike izvrsnosti, i nije doživeo više hvala nego što zaslužuje. Ne može se poreći da ima nedostataka, niti bi iko, ko je iole kompetentan da sudi o ovakvom delu, pretpostavio da bi bez njih mogao biti. ... Pošto je naš jezik dosegao priličan stepen savršenstva, bilo je važno da se ustanovi

zajednički standard, koji bi bar donekle težio da spreči neprestane promene kojima su jezici podložni, i time osigura veću trajnost engleskom jeziku i autorima koji pišu na engleskom. (citirano u Noyes 1955: 180)

U Predgovoru Džonson ističe da svoj plan nije u potpunosti sproveo u delo niti je ispunio sopstvena očekivanja, tako da rečnik ima nedostataka koji se tiču promenljive ortografije, pogrešne etimologije, prekratkih ili preširokih objašnjenja, itd. (Johnson 1773: 147).

Njegovi protivnici najčešće ga kritikuju zbog mana kojih je i sam bio svestan, ali su kritike ponekad i preterano stroge. Tako Kalender (Callender) kritikuje Džonsona zbog njegovog „zapanjujućeg neznanja“ i „ograničene načitanosti“, a o Rečniku kaže da „Doktorove stranice odbijaju pogled čitaoca svojom beznadežnom sterilnošću i groznim siromaštvom“ (citat u Boulton 1971: 24); dok se Arčibald Kembel (Archibald Cambell) u delu *Lexiphanes* podrugljivo osvrće na Džonsonov rečnik i smatra da dobrim piscima rečnik uopšte nije potreban (citat u Tucker 1961: 112). Džon Horn Tuk (John Horne Tooke), etimolog i Džonsonov savremenik, bio je još kritičniji prema njegovom rečniku:

... njegov Rečnik je veoma nesavršen i pun nedostataka, i najmanje vredan od svih njegovih dela ... njegova *Gramatika* i *Istorija* i Rečnik onoga što *on naziva* engleski jezik, su u svakom pogledu (osim većeg dela poslednjeg) istinski dela vredna prezira; ... Skoro jedna trećina Rečnika je jezik Hotentota koliko i Engleza, i ne bi bila teška stvar tako prevesti bilo koji od najrazgovetnijih i najpopularnijih brojeva [časopisa] *Spectator* na jezik ovog Rečnika, tako da nijedan jedini Englez, iako dobro poznaje svoj jezik, ne bi moga da razume i jednu jedinu rečenicu. (citirano u Boulton 1971: 118)

Tuk je takođe smatrao da Džonson nije kompetentan za takav leksikografski poduhvat tako da je „rečnik najuzaludniji rad ponuđen javnosti“ (*ibid.*), a Džejms Bernet (James Burnett, Lord Monbodd), škotski sudija i antropolog, smatrao je da je Džonson samo običan pedant, i da izrada rečnika ne „iziskuje nikakvu genijalnost“ (citat u Tucker 1961: 122).

Jedan od najvećih američkih leksikografa, Noa Vebster, imao je vrlo ambivalentan stav prema Džonsonovom rečniku. S jedne strane smatrao je da je veći deo rečnika dobro urađen, tako da se u svom leksikografskom radu u znatnoj meri oslanjao na Džonsonovo delo. Međutim, Vebsterov cilj bio je da nadmaši Džonsona, što ga je navodilo da istovremeno ističe i kritikuje mane njegovog rečnika. U predgovoru svog prvog leksikografskog dela iz 1828. Vebster između ostalog navodi da su brojni citati koji predstavljaju ilustracije definicija nepotrebni jer su značenja većine reči sasvim razumljiva, te postavlja pitanje „kome su potrebni odlomci tri autora, Nola, Milтона i Barklija da bi se dokazalo ili ilustrovalo doslovno značenje reči *ruka*“ (citat u Friend 1967: 42).

Vebster je upravo kritikovao ono što će postati osnova za izradu Oksforskog rečnika, tj. da se uz pomoć prikladnog broja citata ilustruje dijahronijski razvoj oblika i značenja leksema.



Suprotno Websteru, drugi veliki američki leksikograf, Džozef Vuster, u predgovoru svog rečnika (Worcester 1847: lxiv) izražava nepristrasnije mišljenje o Rečniku i navodi da je „od vremena kada je prvi put izdat smatran standardom engleskog jezika mnogo više nego bilo koji drugi“.

Bez obzira na nedostatke rečnika koje su kritikovali savremenici i potonji leksikografi, Džonsonova posmrtna slava i veličina njegovog leksikografskog dostignuća obezbedila je rečniku status nepogrešivog autoriteta. Shodno tome, kasniji leksikografi stalno su bili u poziciji da usavršavaju Džonsona, i „sve dok ideja standardnog i standardizujućeg rečnika nije dovedena u pitanje – retko su bili u mogućnosti da ostvare originalno i nezavisno delo. Njihova frustracija što moraju da popravljaju delo čoveka koji ih je pretekao, a koga su smatrali nepažljivim ali talentovanim amaterom, bar delom objašnjava njihove osvetničke kritike“ (Boulton 1971: 25).

Vrednost Džonsonovog rečnika mora se procenjivati u kontekstu perioda u kome je nastao. Uprkos nedostacima kao što su npr. greške u ortografiji, nepoznavanje etimologije, dugačke rečenice od preko 250 reči, itd. (vidi Sledd/Kolb 1955), ovaj rečnik predstavlja 'remek delo' svog doba. Stoga je bio u opštoj upotrebi čitav vek, a nakon izvesnih revizija koristio se sve do 1900.

Džonson je doživeo pet izdanja svog rečnika, a vredno pomena je četvrto izdanje iz 1773. koje je sam dosta revidirao. Pored toga jeftinija kvarto izdanja pojavljivala su se u pravilnim intervalima nakon njegove smrti. Bilo je nekoliko interesenata koji su želeli da obogate ili usavrše Džonsonov rečnik, a to je uspelo Henriju Džonu Todu (Henry John Todd) koji je to učinio 1818. i 1827. Džonson-Tod rečnici bili su popularni i u Engleskoj i u Americi.

Autoritet ovog rečnika u javnosti bio je toliko veliki da je Parlament 1880. potpuno odbacio jedan predlog zakona zato što je sadržao reč koja se nije nalazila u „Rečniku“ (Whitehall 1963: 6).

Džonsonovo delo predstavlja prvi pokušaj da se zaista sprovedu leksikografski principi. Pored toga, sam Rečnik je još od prvog izdanja pokazao da je engleski jezik vredan proučavanja i dublje analize. Takođe je predstavljao prethodnicu moderne leksikografije koja doživljava vrhunac sa Oksfordskim rečnikom (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Prvi urednik ovog rečnika Džejms Mari (James Murray) koji je od 1879. radio na njemu punih 38 godina, bio je Džonsonov veliki poštovalac. Tokom svog rada imao je pored sebe uvek otvoren Džonsonov rečnik, tako je u Oksfordski rečnik uključeno oko 1700 Džonsonovih definicija koje nose oznaku „J“.

Iako Džonsonov rečnik već dugo nije u širokoj upotrebi, u današnje vreme nisu ga zaboravili moderni lingvisti, leksikografi i poštovaoci engleskog jezika. Delo ovog leksikografskog genija još uvek predstavlja nepresušan izvor za dalja istraživanja.

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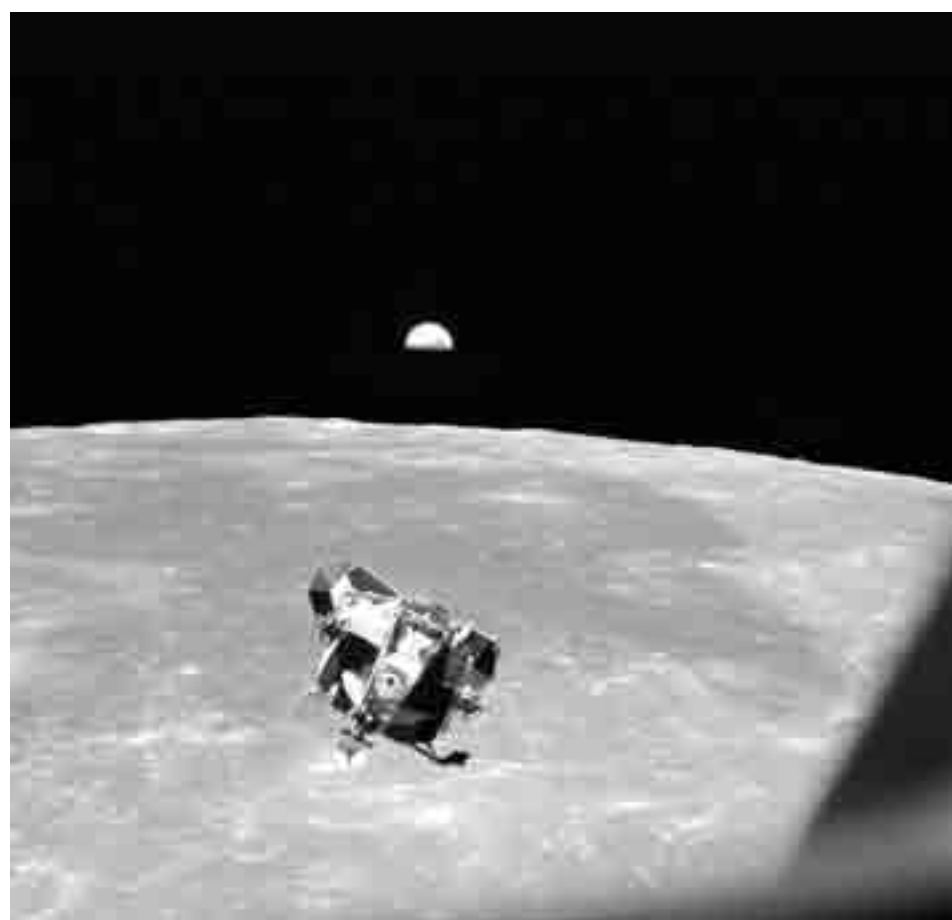
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## SUMMARY

### SAMUEL JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

This text is written to mark the 300th anniversary of Samuel Johnson's birth, and it deals with Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. In *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* Johnson outlined his intentions and the methods he was going to use while compiling the dictionary, but in the Preface of the first edition published in 1755, he admitted that during the seven-year work he became aware of the realities of his task and had to give up the prescriptive role. Despite the weaknesses of his work, and negative attitudes that some of his contemporaries expressed, Johnson's *Dictionary* was the first dictionary compiled on lexicographic principles. It was considered a standard of the English language and was widely used for decades.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** rečnik, leksikografija, standard, engleski jezik.



## ■ SEMIOTISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG KOMBINIERTER BILD-SCHRIFT-MEDIEN: AM BEISPIEL DER POSTKARTE

### 1. MULTIMODALE TEXTE – SEMIOTISCHE GRUNDLAGEN

Im Rahmen der Soziosemiotik, wie sie von Theo van Leeuwen und Gunther Kress entworfen ist, wird die Zusammenwirkung unterschiedlicher Modi innerhalb eines multimodalen Texts untersucht. Dieser Begriff bezeichnet jene Medien, in denen ein Modus die vorgesehene Wirkung ohne die anderen Modi nicht erreichen kann. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören die Medien wie Edutainment CD-ROMs (Animation/ Video, Audio und Text), Comics (Bild und Text), Fernsehwerbungen (Video/ Animation Audio, Text, usw.), illustrierte Zeitungsartikel (Fotografie und Text), Fachtexte mit Diagrammen, illustrierte Fremdsprachenlehrbücher etc. Innerhalb der Soziosemiotik werden die überwiegend visuellen Medien analysiert, während die Medien zu denen wir mit anderen Sinnen Zugang pflegen (etwa auditive oder taktile Medien), wesentlich weniger behandelt werden.<sup>1</sup>

Historisch betrachtet, existieren kombinierte Medien seit jeher in der Kultur. In der mittelalterlichen Malerei lassen sich beispielsweise schriftliche Elemente finden, die in das Bild integriert sind: die Namen der Heilige über den dargestellten Figuren oder einige Sätze aus der Heiligen Schrift, die das Bild erklären sollen.<sup>2</sup> Die theoretische Behandlung der Multimodalität lässt sich auch in den Gesamtkunstwerkskonzeptionen von Wagner, Skrjabin oder sogar Eisenstein wieder finden. Seit Beginn der Medienkritik im 20. Jahrhundert wird die Unzulänglichkeit des einzelnen Mediums, die Wahrheit darzustellen, kritisiert. In seiner „Kleinen Geschichte der Fotografie“ spricht Benjamin von Eigenschaften des Fotos in der „Reklame“. Er zitiert Brechts Meinung, dass die Fotografie als eine „Wiedergabe der Realität“ eigentlich sehr wenig über die Realität aussagt. Am Beispiel der Fotografie von Kruppwerken wird gezeigt, dass daraus nichts über dieses Institut erfahren werden kann, weil „[D]ie eigentliche Realität [...] in die Funktionale gerutscht [ist].“ (Benjamin 2002: 314). Diese „Wiedergabe der Realität“ stellt von den Lebensverhältnissen der Arbeiter und von der Arbeit des Unternehmens usw. so gut wie nichts dar, weswegen *nur* einer Fotografie nicht geglaubt werden sollte. „Wird die Beschriftung nicht zum wesentlichen Bestandteil der Aufnahme werden?“

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(Benjamin 2002: 315). Die Frage Benjamins bezieht sich ziemlich genau auf den Gegenstand der Soziosemiotik.

Die Methoden, die in der Soziosemiotik benutzt werden, stammen aus mehreren semiotischen Disziplinen: Einerseits werden die innerhalb der Sprachwissenschaft und Semiotik entworfenen Thesen benutzt, andererseits die aus der Literatur-, Kunst- und Medienwissenschaft. Die Besonderheit liegt eben darin, dass alle genannten Wissenschaften monomodalen Zugang pflegen, während die Soziosemiotik dafür plädiert: „these different semiotic disciplines must be pulled down and a new ‘multimodal’ approach developed.“ (van Leeuwen 2003: 32). Anders ausgedrückt wird also innerhalb der Soziosemiotik eine medienübergreifende Grammatik entworfen, die die Bewertung aller beteiligten semiotischen Modi eines Textes ermöglicht, und die kritische Diskursanalyse auf eine andere, holistische Ebene umstellt.

Nach der soziosemiotischen Kommunikationstheorie (Kress und van Leeuwen 2007: 41ff) gibt es drei Metafunktionen,<sup>3</sup> die jeder semiotische Modus erfüllen soll, um als solcher erkannt zu werden: 1) die ideationale Metafunktion, die sich vor allem auf die Fähigkeit eines semiotischen Systems bezieht, der menschlichen Wahrnehmung entsprechende Darstellung der Welt anzubieten. Diese Metafunktion wird im Zusammenhang mit den moduscharakteristischen narrativen bzw. konzeptuellen Repräsentationsformen diskutiert; 2) die interpersonale Metafunktion bezeichnet die soziale Beziehung zwischen den dargestellten Objekten bzw. Prozessen, dem Produzenten und dem Rezipienten. In der visuellen Grammatik unterscheidet man dabei, ob ein naturalistisches Foto oder eine schematische Struktur verwendet wurde, ob sich das Dargestellte mittelbar oder unmittelbar an den Rezipienten widmet usw.; 3) unter der textuellen Metafunktion versteht sich die Fähigkeit der benutzten Modi, einen Text zu formen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird der Text als eine Komposition verstanden, in der das Design des semiotischen Raums gewisse Bedeutungen herstellt.

Der theoretische Apparat zur Analyse der Komposition besteht aus den drei in Wechselbeziehung stehenden Systemen (van Leeuwen 2003: 23ff): 1) Informationswert (*information value*), der von der Position des abgebildeten Elements abhängt (Position auf der horizontalen oder vertikalen Achse bzw. im zentralen oder marginalen Bereich des Layouts). Dies bezieht sich in großen Maßen auf das Thema (*Given*) – Rhema (*New*) Relation, die auch in der multimodalen Textstruktur besteht; 2) perzeptive Prägnanz (*Salience*) (Dressler 2000: 768) eines oder mehrerer der dargestellten Objekte in der Komposition (im Vergleich mit dem Rest). Logischerweise betrifft dies alle im Text benutzten Modi, sei es Text (im klassischen Sinne) oder das Bild, sowohl in zweidimensionalen, als auch in den dreidimensionalen Medien; 3) Rahmung (*framing*) als Mittel für das Schaffen und Abschaffen der Kontinuität einer der Modi innerhalb der Komposition.

## 2. BILD-SCHRIFT-MEDIEN

Bisherige Arbeiten in der Soziosemiotik haben sich vor allem mit unterschiedlichen *fertigen* multimodalen Texten beschäftigt, mit dem Ziel, die Prinzipien der gegenwärtigen medialen Erscheinungen zu beschreiben. Im Unterschied dazu –

aber mit dem gleichen Ziel – wird in dieser Arbeit ein Medium analysiert, das dem Erstbenutzer unvollständig dargeboten wird. Darstellung des Inhalts in einem Modus (Bild) suggeriert, wie der Inhalt in einem anderen (Schrift) aussehen soll. Ein ähnlicher Mechanismus lässt sich neben der Postkarte, auch bei einer Reihe von Ausmalbüchern und Fremdsprachenlernmaterialien für Kinder aufzeigen. Wie bereits erwähnt, basiert das ganze Gebiet des Edutainment eigentlich auf Multimodalität sowie auf der gegenseitigen Wirkung unterschiedlicher Modi.

Am Beispiel der Aufgaben für das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache, in denen zusätzlich zu dem vorliegenden Bild ein entsprechendes Wort auf der Fremdsprache angegeben werden soll, wird verstanden, dass bei der Benutzung des anderen Modus Beschränkungen gewollt sind. Die bloße Gegenwart eines anderen Modus macht aus den Bild-Schrift-Medien großteils stark typisierte Medien. Das gilt auch bei der Postkarte, mit dem einzigen Unterschied, dass der bildliche Teil die Nachricht eher andeutet, als dass er sie bestimmt. Restliche Einschränkungen (die wiederum auch die Auswahl der Fotografie bestimmen) sind durch das soziale Verhältnis des Senders zu dem Empfänger bedingt.

Bei den Bild-Schrift-Medien, geht das Zusammenwirken der Modi aus ihrer Gebrauchsfunktion hervor – im Fall der Postkarte geht es um das Senden einer Nachricht. Einerseits soll diese Nachricht persönlich erscheinen (die soziale Beziehung, die dadurch hergestellt wird, muss diese Qualität haben), andererseits soll ihre Fertigung auch nicht zu viel Zeit in Anspruch nehmen. Da „ein Bild mehr sagt, als Tausend Worte“ – wobei es sich auch um einen als Bild behandelten Text handeln kann –, erspart es dem Sender die schriftliche Beschreibung und erfüllt die ästhetische Funktion. Die Vervollständigung des Anschriftfeldes und des restlichen schriftlichen Teils wird auch deswegen kurz dauern, weil der Platz dafür sehr beschränkt ist. Die Tätigkeit des selbstständigen Schreibens trägt auch eine bestimmte Bedeutung. Sie stellt das Persönlichste dar, das frei lesbar und in einem derart begrenzten Raum jemandem dargeboten werden kann.

Ein Bild-Schrift-Medium kann als ein multimodaler Text bezeichnet werden, der aus einer bildlichen Vorlage und einem hinzuzufügenden schriftlichen Teil besteht. Die Postkarte ist dabei ein viel neutraleres und einfacheres Medium, als beispielsweise ein Lehr- oder Arbeitsbuch. Der Verbreitung wegen verdient sie trotz ihrer Einfachheit unsere Aufmerksamkeit.

### 3. DIE POSTKARTE

Die Postkarte des 18. Jahrhunderts, trug meist eine kurze Nachricht, die frei lesbar war. Sie wurde also nicht vertraulich, sondern eher als eine halböffentliche Schrift verstanden, in der der Name des Senders, die Nachricht selbst, sowie Anschrift und Name des Empfängers für jeden, der die Karte betrachtete, sichtbar waren. Erst später bekam sie eine Illustration, so wie wir sie heute kennen, und zwar auf der Seite des Nachrichtentextes. Der Gebrauch beider Seiten der Postkarte ist seit ihren Anfängen üblich, nur die Teilung des semiotischen Raums war anders. Der Hauptzweck der Postkarte ist jedoch verändert worden: Von einer ausschließlich lokalen Verwendung –

um sich z. B. vorab als Besucher anzukündigen – ist sie heutzutage ein überwiegend für größere Entfernungen benutztes Medium.

Der allgemein bekannte Typus der Postkarte ist die Bildpostkarte, mit Hilfe derer die Analyse fortgeführt wird. Diese Karte enthält auf der einen Seite ein Bild, auf der anderen ein geteiltes oder nicht geteiltes Feld für eine kurze Nachricht und die Empfängeranschrift. Diese drei Elemente formen einen multimodalen Text bzw. eine Komposition. Auch der bildliche Teil kann eine Komposition sein, die nochmals aus dem Bild bzw. aus dem als Bild behandelten Text oder ihrer Kombination besteht. Die Besonderheit des Mediums ist die Interaktivität, d. h. der Benutzer selbst muss die Nachricht schreiben. Durch den Verzicht des Technischen, wird ein anderer Eindruck verliehen als durch das Verfassen einer Email, E-Card oder SMS.

Der wichtigste Teil für die Auswahl einer Postkarte ist der Bildliche. Dieser Teil ist sowohl das, was vom Sender ausgewählt, als auch das, was dem Rezipienten zuerst übermittelt wird, und daher einen wesentlichen Teil der gesamten Nachricht darstellt. Barthes These, dass sich alle Zeichensysteme auf die *natürliche* Sprache herunterfahren lassen, weil unsere Zivilisation/Kultur auf der Sprache basiert (Barth 1972: 284), begründet, inwieweit eine Untersuchung der Fotografie – und in unserem Fall des bildlichen Teils – an sich sprachbezogen sein muss. Dank der Struktur der Fotografie, die auf einen über sich hinausgehenden Kontext verweist und gleichzeitig einen inneren Kontext kreiert, und dank den Zeichen, die sie darstellt, entsteht eine Kommunikation, die nicht nur auf dem unmittelbar Abgebildeten beruht. Die Konnotation ist in diesem Medium – wie in der Sprache – alles, was durch die Abbildungen und den Kontext im Foto nicht „benannt“ und doch dargeboten wird: „[...] er konnotierte Sinn [entspringt] den fotografierten Objekten [...]“ (Barthes 1990: 18). Bei der Postkarte ist aber die Konnotation für die gesamte Nachricht (für die angenommenen *intentio auctoris* und *intentio operis* der Fotografie und der textuellen Nachricht) von größerer Wichtigkeit als das Denotat, vor allem wegen der mediumspezifischen Aktualitätsbezogenheit (d. h., das Foto einer Paradiesinsel trägt weniger Bedeutung, als das Foto, das mit der persönlichen Nachricht einer uns bekannten Person versehen ist).

Das Abbild, mit dem wir in der Fotografie konfrontiert sind, verleiht uns nach Barthes den Eindruck, dass es – dank dem „Mythos der Technik“ – ein Analogon des Tatbestands ist. Es kann aber kein „naives Bild“ ohne Konnotation und Intention geben. Ein solches Bild wäre keine vollständige Information, sondern eine unbrauchbare Restinformation (Barthes 1983: 144). Das Bild einer Postkarte ist auf keinen Fall ein naives Bild, aber es gilt auch nicht als eine vollständige Information, denn dann wäre der schriftliche Teil unnötig. Deswegen stellt sich die Frage, welche die Rolle des Bildes im Kommunikationsprozess ist. In seiner *Rhetorik des Bildes* vertritt Barthes die These, dass nicht nur das Zeichensystem davon abhängig ist, für welche Substanz wir uns beim Medium entscheiden, sondern auch die Ideologie der Nachricht, die vermittelt wird (Barthes 1983: 147). Die Ideologie bezeichnet in diesem Fall aber nicht nur die aus dem Text ersichtlichen Absichten beim Erschaffen (*intentio auctoris*), sondern auch die Grundabsicht, die einen dazu veranlasst, sich für das jeweilige Medium zu entscheiden.

#### 4. SEMIOTISCHER RAUM

Der Informationswert eines Elements hängt von seiner Stelle im semiotischen Raum der Komposition ab. Darunter wird in zweidimensionalen Medien die horizontale Thema-Rhema (*Given-New*), die vertikale *Ideal-Real* und, auf der Ebene des Ganzen, die Zentrum-Margin Relation verstanden. Für die dreidimensionalen Kompositionen (z. B. Packungen oder Skulpturen) schlägt Van Leeuwen (2003: 48ff) folgende Kategorien vor: Antlitz (*Face*), als den Teil, der durch seinen Informationswert die gesamte Komposition identifiziert, und Rückhalt (*Support*), als den Teil, der die Informationen eines anderen Werts hat, also Angaben die mit der Hauptinformation indirekter verwandt sind. Die Postkarte ist ein dreidimensionales Medium, weil sie als Komposition nur im Raum wirken kann – man muss die beiden Seiten sehen können. Jeder ihrer Modi ist für sich aber ausschließlich als zweidimensional anzusehen. Deswegen gilt für ihre Analyse nur ein kombinierter Zugang als optimal.

Die Tatsache, dass die persönliche Nachricht, die von der Postkarte getragen wird und die ihr den Sinn verleiht, auf der Rückseite *neben* der Information eines anderen Werts steht (praktische Angabe – Anschrift des Rezipienten), könnte uns daran hindern, die Rückseite als *Support* der ganzen Komposition zu verstehen. Die Vorderseite enthält aber nicht selten auch solche praktische Informationen (z. B. woher die Postkarte stammt, sei es durch das Foto oder durch einen begleitenden Text usw.), die einen ähnlichen Wert haben, wie die Anschrift des Rezipienten. Insofern lässt sich nur sagen, dass die beiden Seiten dazu tendieren, als Rückhalt bzw. als Antlitz verstanden zu werden. In diesem Fall entscheidet aber die Multimodalität der Komposition: der an Modi reichere Teil – also die Vorderseite – wird als *Face* erkannt, zumal er dadurch perzeptiv wesentlich prägnanter wirkt, als der andere. Dies schildert den Grad der wechselseitigen Abhängigkeit der Kompositionssysteme.

Nach der Informationstheorie von Klaus ist die Information ein intendierter Sachverhalt (Brekle 1972: 78). In diesem Sinne sind die Anschrift und der Name des Rezipienten nicht als Information, sondern nur als ein Reiz bzw. als ein Signal im codierten Kommunikationssystem zu verstehen. Anders ausgedrückt stellt die Postkarte erst nach dem Hinzufügen von Anschrift und Namen des Empfängers eine Information dar. Dies wäre richtig, wenn das Foto auf der Postkarte ein bloßer Sachverhalt wäre. Da die Fotografie aber ebenso eine bestimmte Intention bzw. Ideologie enthält, ließe sich sagen, dass die Intentionen/ Ideologien des Bildes recodiert und dann als ein Teil der Intentionen des Senders dargeboten werden. Auch die Tatsache, dass der Sender nur eine beschränkte Auswahl an Postkarten hat, bekräftigt diese These. Mit dem Akt des Auswählens stimmt er implizit zu, einen Teil der *fremden* Intentionen in die eigene Nachricht zu integrieren. Die Fotografie bzw. der bildliche Teil wird dennoch als ein intentionsloser Sachverhalt behandelt, der erst durch das Hinzufügen der Anschrift zu einer Information, zu einer Nachricht wird.

Der *fremde* bildliche Teil ist dank der Einteilung des semiotischen Raums und dank der Form der Postkarte vom schriftlichen Teil getrennt. Wenn die Hinterseite geteilt ist, was bei der klassischen Postkarte oft der Fall ist, wenn also ein Feld für die Anschrift bestimmt ist, dann handelt es sich um eine Komposition innerhalb eines Modus. Diese Teilung wird nach der kompositionellen Methode der Rahmung (*Framing*)



durchgeführt. Das Design des schriftlichen Teils, der durch die Verkleinerung und Absonderung des *persönlichen* (persönliche Nachricht) vom *praktischen* (Adresse und Name des Empfängers) Bereich entsteht, lässt sich auch vom Standpunkt der Ideologie interpretieren. So wird der Benutzer gezwungen, eine bestimmte Form zu beachten, und gleichzeitig verhindert, den schriftlichen persönlichen Teil nach eigenem Belieben auszufüllen. Durch ihre Trennung werden unterschiedliche Werte der linken und der rechten Seite betont. Somit wird auch die Relation zwischen ihnen hergestellt.<sup>4</sup> Dies ist gleichzeitig noch ein Beweis für die These, dass sogar die bloße Auswahl eines Mediums bestimmte ideologische Botschaft trägt – in diesem Fall lässt sich der bestimmte Standard nicht von dem Benutzer ändern, sondern ausschließlich von der Seite des Produzenten. Der Eindruck des Persönlichen, der beim Empfang der Postkarte erweckt werden soll, ist daher ein Teil ihres Ideologiekomplexes.

Die Teilung des gesamten semiotischen Raums in der Postkarte ermöglicht, dass das Unpersönliche vom Persönlichen getrennt wird. Der Raum, der dabei für die persönliche Nachricht gelassen wird, wird zusätzlich durch die Rahmung belastet, wodurch die Relation *Ideal/Real* entsteht. Die Offenlegung der persönlichen Nachricht wirkt als eine zusätzliche Beschränkung (des Persönlichen), die die Themen und verwendete Sprache betrifft.

## 5. METAFUNKTIONEN DER POSTKARTE

Die zu Anfang erwähnten Metafunktionen, ideationale, interpersonale und die textuelle Metafunktion, werden von den drei Teilen der Postkarte getragen. Da keiner der Teile nur eine vertritt, werden an dieser Stelle die Beschränkungen bei der Übernahme der Metafunktionen aufgezeigt.

Unter der ideationalen Metafunktion versteht sich die Fähigkeit eines semiotischen Modus, die Welt außerhalb der semiotischen Systeme so darzustellen, wie man sie wahrnimmt. Diese Rolle soll vor allem der bildliche Teil einer klassischen Postkarte ausdrücken, und zwar auch bei den Postkarten, bei denen der Text im klassischen Sinne als Bild behandelt wird. Nach Kress und van Leeuwen (2007: 45ff, 79ff) sind die Relationen, die innerhalb der visuellen Darstellungen entstehen, entweder als Vektoren (Aktionen) oder bestimmte Strukturen (Klassifizierungen) bezeichnet. Dies kann durch den persönlichen schriftlichen Teil der Postkarte nur erweitert werden, besonders wenn sich sein Inhalt auf den bildlichen Teil bezieht. Die Kategorisierung erwähnter Relationen stammt aus der Hallidays Theorie der systemisch-funktionellen Grammatik (Kress und Leeuwen 2007: 76ff, 109ff).

Die interpersonale Metafunktion, d. h. eine soziale Beziehung zwischen dem Produzenten (im Sinne von Sender), dem Empfänger, und dem Dargestellten, wird unmittelbar von dem Anschriftsteil getragen. Die Anschrift, unabhängig von dem Titel des Empfängers, repräsentiert das Signal für die Herstellung einer sozialen Relation zwischen dem Sender und dem Empfänger. Diese Metafunktion wird zusätzlich von dem schriftlichen persönlichen und vom bildlichen Teil getragen, denn auch ihre Inhalte nehmen an dieser Relation teil. Obwohl der Anschriftsteil den höchsten praktischen Wert hat, weil ohne ihn die Postkarte ihren Zweck nicht erfüllen kann, sind

die Nuancen bei den verwendeten Modi und bei der Positionierung des Empfängers (als Leser und Beschauer) aus ihm nicht lesbar. Darin liegt auch ein grundlegender Unterschied zwischen Postkarte und anderen bisher in der Soziosemiotik analysierten Massenmedien. Die Empfänger sind in Massenmedien dispersiv und unbestimmt. Dem entspricht auch die Machtposition in der durch das Medium hergestellten sozialen Beziehung, wobei jedes einzelne Modi von der Ideologie beeinflusst wird. Obwohl auch die Postkarte für den Massengebrauch produziert wird, sind die soziale Beziehung, sowie die Machtposition zu dem Empfänger viel bestimmter, während die vom Sender nicht unbedingt gewollte Ideologie vor allem im Design enthalten ist.

Wenn die gesamte Komposition den Wert eines Textes hat, spricht man über eine textuelle Metafunktion. Dies bedeutet, dass der Empfänger der Postkarte nicht nur den persönlichen schriftlichen Teil der Postkarte liest, sondern auch den bildlichen als Bestandteil des Textes versteht. Es geht also um das Umfeld (*Environment*) des Geschriebenen, das aus anderen Modi besteht. Nach Kress (2003: 19ff) besitzt jedes Medium und jeder Modus eine eigene innere Logik: Die Logik des Modus Bild ist Simultanität und Spatialität, die des Modus Schrift Sequenzialität und Temporalität. Im Medium Postkarte kommt es wegen des begrenzten Raums, der für den schriftlichen Teil vorgesehen ist, zu einer gewissen Hybridisierung. Aufgrund der Prägnanz der schriftlichen Nachricht und ihres Zusammenwirkens mit dem bildlichen Teil kann man nicht von einer Temporalität sprechen. Auch ist eine Simultanität ausgeschlossen, da es unmöglich ist, beide Seiten der Postkarte gleichzeitig zu betrachten. Die Spatialität und Sequenzialität verbleiben als Merkmale des Mediums Postkarte. Durch den Prozess, der diese Eigenschaften verknüpft, entsteht ein multimodaler Text.

Bei dem Medium Postkarte lassen sich die Bestandteile und die Hauptträger der Metafunktionen erkennen, obwohl sie durch beide Modi zum Ausdruck kommen. In komplizierteren Kompositionen sind die Metafunktionen noch differenzierter verteilt. Die Beschränkungen sind aber trotzdem klar: Jene Elemente, die nur formalen, praktischen Wert haben, wie der Anschriftsteil, sind am ungeeignetsten, Träger der Metafunktionen zu sein.

## 6. FAZIT UND PERSPEKTIVEN

Die visuellen Strukturen, die in bestimmten Medien hergestellt werden und die Art und Weise, wie ein Medium gebraucht wird, schaffen ebenso wichtige Bedeutungen, wie es z. B. die Wortauswahl einer im Modus Schrift entstandenen Nachricht macht. Eines der Ziele, die nur durch die Verwendung der soziosemiotischen Analyse erreicht werden können, ist die wissenschaftliche Kritik, Bewertung und Interpretation der genannten und ähnlichen Bedeutungen mithilfe einer analytischen Vorgehensweise.

Zu den wichtigsten Leistungen der Soziosemiotik gehört außerdem die ideologische Analyse der einzelnen Modi und ihrer Relationen. Wenn sich in einem als unpolitisch geltenden Medium wie der Postkarte die Möglichkeit für das Bestehen der Ideologie feststellen lässt, dann ist es auf jeden Fall zu erwarten, dass auch komplexere Bild-Schrift-Medien wie z. B. Tests oder Lehrbücher nicht frei von ihr sein können.

Insofern ist die Soziosemiotik als passende Methode auch für eine Evaluation der Medien innerhalb einer Gesellschaft bzw. eines Kulturkreises zu bezeichnen.

Weitere soziosemiotische Forschung der multimodalen Texte soll die topografische Arbeit an der „semiotischen Landschaft“ fortsetzen. In diesem Sinne stellt die Analyse der Postkarte erst einen kleinen Beitrag im persönlichen medialen Bereich des semiotischen Prozesses dar.

- 1 Der Schwerpunkt ist grundsätzlich auf dem Gebiet des Visuellen und vor allem in dem Zusammenhang werden die anderen Medien erforscht.
- 2 Es soll betont werden, dass diese Medien ohne den schriftlichen Teil nicht funktionieren konnten. Die Namen im schriftlichen, sowie bestimmte Zeichen im bildlichen Teil dienen, um einen Heiligen zu erkennen.
- 3 Diese Einteilung stammt, wie übrigens ein großer Teil der gesamten theoretischen Grundlage, aus Hallidays funktioneller Grammatik.
- 4 Dies hängt auch mit den Trägern der Metafunktion zusammen. Die rechte Seite kann man als *ideal* verstehen, weil das Intentionssignal überwiegend von ihr getragen wird. Die linke Seite ist als *real* zu bezeichnen, weil auf ihr die andere Metafunktion Primat hat. Auch die Tatsache, dass es sich hier um ein grafisches Eingreifen in das Schriftliche handelt, erlaubt die Verschiebung der Ideal-Real Relation von der vertikalen auf die horizontale Ebene.

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## ZUSAMMENANFASSUNG

### SEMIOTISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG KOMBINIERTER BILD-SCHRIFT-MEDIEN: AM BEISPIEL DER POSTKARTE

Die Medien, die traditionell zu einem Modus gehören, werden seit längerer Zeit zunehmend durch andere Modi bereichert. Kress (2003: 19) weist beispielsweise auf die Tatsache hin, dass der Modus Schrift durch die Ubiquität des Modus Bild in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts stark beeinflusst worden ist. Solche Prozesse führen zu der gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit unterschiedlicher Modi in einem Medium. In der Soziosemiotik werden solche Fälle unter dem Namen multimodale Texte/ Medien untersucht.

Die Tatsache, dass es fast kein „reines“ oder zumindest „unbeeinflusstes“ Medium mehr gibt, berechtigt uns dazu, die Diskursanalyse von einer rein sprachlichen auf die Ebene der semiotischen Modi zu erweitern. In diesem Sinne ist Ziel dieser Arbeit, anhand von einem relativ einfachen und selten analysierten Medium wie der Postkarte, das Funktionieren der Bild-Schrift-Medien, einer Unterklasse der multimodalen Texte, darzustellen.

**SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER:** Soziosemiotik, multimodale Texte, Bild-Schrift-Medium, Postkarte.



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## ■ ZNAČAJ I KARAKTERISTIKE ISTRAŽIVANJA NAZIVA ZA BOJE NA PRIMERU JAPANSKOG JEZIKA

Cilj ovog rada jeste da, ilustrujući konkretno najviše slučaj japanskog jezika, a temeljeći se na brojnoj i raznovrsnoj literaturi kao i na zaključcima iz autorkinog istraživanja, prikaže neke od razloga zbog kojih je potrebno, pa samim tim i korisno, istraživati nazive za boje u jednom jeziku. Pri tome ćemo se posebno truditi da ukažemo na u njima vidljivo preplitanje lingvističkih, kulturoloških i antropoloških fenomena.

Takav, nama blizak, objedinjujući pristup nalazimo prvenstveno u radovima iz kognitivne lingvistike (Lakoff 1987, Taylor 1995 i dr), psiholingvistike (Berlin & Kay 1969, Škorc 1992, 1994 i dr) i opšte lingvistike (lingvističko-kulturološkim pitanjima, npr, kod nas se bavila Ivić 1995). Pored toga, o boji se piše i u tehničkoj literaturi (npr. Drašković 1983) ili u radovima o konkretnoj primeni boje u medicini, menadžmentu i životu uopšte (npr. Birren 1978), a ova vrsta literature je, takođe, važna kada je u pitanju istraživanje koje ima veze sa bojama, upravo zbog toga što odnos boje i njenog naziva nije proste prirode.

Na osnovu literature zaključujemo da odnos boja : naziv za boju predstavlja spoj više elemenata različite prirode, te da su nazivi za boje samo delimično zavisni od izvesne fiksirane hromatske datosti i ljudske biološke predispozicije, dok svojim dobrim delom podležu zakonitostima univerzalnih i specifičnih kulturoloških aspekata, zbog čega su, između ostalog, veoma pogodni za ispitivanje (ne)tačnosti čuvene Sapir-Vorfove hipoteze o jezičkoj relativnosti i jezičkom determinizmu. Ono što, međutim, često ostaje nedovoljno primećeno, a na šta u ovom radu želimo da stavimo akcenat, jeste činjenica da, pored navedenog, u svesti čoveka dolazi do poistovećivanja realnih boja i njihovih naziva. To znači da se ne samo boje već i njihovi nazivi stapaju sa izvesnim univerzalnim simboličkim kodom i kodom date kulture ostvarujući zamršene međusobne uticaje (značenje reči utiče na percepciju boje, a primena boje u određenim društvenim prilikama, na primer, utiče na upotrebu naziva s pozitivnom/negativnom konotacijom i sl.). Da bismo ovaj naš stav potkrepili dokazima, prvo ćemo izneti nekoliko opštih činjenica vezanih za boju, a zatim ukazati na obrtni trenutak, mesto gde jezik počinje da utiče na kulturu, mada moramo da napomenemo da su ove razlike često izuzetno suptilne.

Još prilično rano istraživači su uočili univerzalno povezivanje određenih ljudskih emocija i raspoloženja sa bojama. Crvena boja doživljava se, tako, kao „najživlja“ od

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svih boja, te je u emotivnom smislu uglavnom pozitivno obojena, iako može buditi i negativne asocijacije — preteranu strast, greh i sl. Mada još uvek nisu dovoljno ispitane, ove asocijacije, kao prilično internacionalnog karaktera, smatraju se podlogom za univerzalnu simboliku koja se vezuje za značenje boja. Uz to, istraživanja u psiholingvistici su pokazala da biološka predispozicija utiče na stav prema boji, pa se na osnovu tog stava, preferenci i sl., može govoriti i o tipovima ljudi, što je takođe delimično univerzalnog karaktera (Sharpe 1975, Itten 1973).

Pored univerzalne simbolike ispoljene u značenju boja, svaka kultura ima i svoja specifična obeležja. U tom smislu je posebno značajan odnos jednog naroda prema boji kože ili kose svog stanovništva, i to sa razlikom među polovima i godištima. Tako se u jezicima uglavnom specijalizuju nazivi i izrazi koji izražavaju boju kose lica starijeg (pr. 白髪 /shiraga/ doslovno 'bela kosa', 銀髪 /ginpatsu/ dosl. 'srebrna kosa' za 'sedu kosu') ili kože mladog ženskog dela populacije (pr. 桜色した頬 /sakurairo shita hoo/ 'obrazi boje trešnjinog cveta', 切迫の肌 /seppaku no hada/ 'snežnobela koža'), kao i oni koji izražavaju boju kože ljudi druge rase (Ilinčić 2004, za srpski v. Ivić 1995). Ipak, iako su ovakve kulturološke razlike leksički određene, one su, kroz svoje varijacije, prisutne u skoro svim sredinama, a značajne su jer nam govore o preferencama date zajednice.

Možemo, međutim, da primetimo da se struktura i raznovrsnost slojeva kulturološkog uticaja na fenomen boje ne ograničava ni na univerzalnom (univerzalna simbolika) ni na specijalizovanom (npr. posebni nazivi za boju kože čoveka) korpusu značenja, već zahvata i druge nivoe ljudske interakcije. Upravo zbog specifičnih kulturoloških uticaja, koji nisu varijacije opštih zakonitosti, boja je, na primer, mogla imati tačno određenu poziciju u društvenim protokolima u Japanu.

Postoje pisani dokazi o tome da je u Japanu još u X veku (zbirka protokola *Engshiki* (延喜式)) bilo tačno utvrđeno koje boje odgovaraju kojem staležu, sa bojama specijalno rezerviranim samo za cara i određene prilike (v. 堀井 1996). Ovakav odnos prema bojama potekao je iz još ranijeg perioda, to jest od princa Šotokua (574-622), koji je prvi uredio klase činovnika prema boji, a po uzoru na sličan sistem koji je već postojao u Kini. Ovaj japanski sistem se naziva 冠位十二階 /Kan'ijuunikai/ 'Zakon dvanaestostepenih dijadema' i donesen je 603. godine. Činovnici su prema njemu bili podeljeni na šest klasa označenih osnovnim bojama, a zatim su se dalje delili na više i niže u istoj klasi, što je predstavljano tamnijim (intenzivnijim) i svetlijim (bleđim) nijansama iste boje. Često su samo svetliji tonovi bili dozvoljeni za šire mase. Najviši stalež bio je obeležen ljubičastom bojom, a sledile su plava, crvena, žuta, bela i crna kao najniža. Sličan odnos prema boji održao se i kasnije, te je i danas ljubičasta boja za Japance obeležje plemstva i aristokratije (Ilinčić 2003, 2004). Ipak, ovde je najbitnije istaći činjenicu, koja iz navedenog proizilazi, da su boje za sebe imale hijerarhijsko ustrojstvo, te da su neke bile cenzurisane, kao i da je postojala diskriminacija po pitanju upotrebe boja. Uz to, jasno je da se ovde pojam boje odnosi na boju odevnih predmeta, konkretno najviše kape i ukrasa za glavu.

Ne čini se posebno neobičnim da se u tekstilnoj industriji i u izradi odevnih predmeta uopšte o bojama oduvek i svugde puno vodilo računa, pa i bogatstvo tradicije oslikavanja japanskih kimona možemo shvatiti u kontekstu takvog usavršavanja. Ipak, u Japanu postoji zaista izuzetno veliki broj knjiga posvećenih boji, a još više njihovim kombinacijama pri izradi i nošenju kimona. Za nas je, međutim, interesantno da su

tekstilna industrija i boje koje su u njoj korišćene uticale na status određene boje u društvu, nezavisno od gore navedenog. Tako je, na primer, najčešće korišćena boja za farbanje tkanine bila teget, koja je bila dostupna i ne tako bogatim ljudima, te je stoga ostala čest sinonim za skromnost, što vidimo i iz sledećeg opisa u Kavabatinom romanu *Lepota i tuga* (str. 17):

*Otoko je došla na kliniku u kimonu kakav su nosile devojke, s odgovarajućim ogrtačem od jeftine teget svile.*

Ovakav odnos prema teget boji zadržao se i danas.

Iako bi se o boji još mnogo toga moglo kazati, potrebno je da skrenemo pažnju na činjenicu da sistem naziva za boje ne korespondira u potpunosti sa sistemom boja. Naime, do sada smo izlagali o boji, njenoj univerzalnoj simbolici, ljudskoj biološkoj predispoziciji, kulturološkom odnosu prema bojama koje su za ljude date zajednice od presudnog značaja, kao i o tehnološkom uticaju na kulturološki status boje i sličnom, a sada želimo da ukažemo na osobenosti samih naziva za boje.

Iz stručne literature vidimo da, na primer, nazivi za boje koji se koriste u tekstilnoj industriji neretko nisu isti kao oni koji se koriste u fabrici lakova, iako je boja koju označavaju ista ili vrlo slična. Drugim rečima, nazivi se razlikuju prema oblasti upotrebe i konkretnoj tehnologiji za koju se vezuju. To dovodi do toga da se ponekad dešava da jednoj boji odgovara više naziva ili da se ne zna na koju tačno boju se odnosi neki naziv, ukoliko je oblast njene primene postala perifernog društvenog značaja (Maerz & Paul 1930). Takav je slučaj, između ostalog, sa prirodnim pigmentima koji su korišćeni za pravljenje bojila što se danas uglavnom dobijaju veštačkim putem ili pak sa tehnologijama bojenja predmeta koji su izgubili svoj društveni značaj, te se više ne upotrebljavaju. Stoga ne čudi što, kao i tehnologije i moda, i nazivi za boje nekada zastarevaju i nestaju.

S druge strane, neki od stručnih termina od prvobitnog naziva za pigment, u zavisnosti od istorije tehnološkog razvoja upotrebe tog pigmenta, postaju odomaćeni i korišćeni i izvan uskih stručnih krugova. To je, uostalom, sudbina velikog broja naziva za boje (za srpski, up. Ivanković 1954). U japanskom jeziku takvi nazivi su, na primer, 茜色 /akane-iro/ 'tamnocrvena' ('boja broća', tj. 'boja od broća', broć – biljka iz čijeg korena se dobija dati pigment), 藍 /ai/ 'indigo' (tj. 'boja od biljke indigo'), 丹色 /ni-iro/ 'boja cinobera', 紅 /kurenai/ 'vatrenocrvena' (tj. 'boja od pigmenta iz Kine') i brojni drugi nazivi.

Ukoliko se nije radilo o nazivu za sam pigment već o nazivu njegovog izvora ili stvari/bića u toj boji korišćeni su nazivi biljaka, delova biljaka, životinja i sl. U tom slučaju bi ove reči bile semantički proširene da obuhvate i potrebno značenje boje, što je proces koji je verovatno univerzalnog karaktera. U nekim nazivima za boje ovakvo etimološko poreklo i dalje je vidljivo, dok se u nekim drugim nazivima značenje boje, manje ili više, osamostalilo od svog izvornog značenja, a postoje i oni u kojima poreklo uopšte nije moguće tačno utvrditi. Nazivi čije se poreklo ne može utvrditi u najvećem broju slučajeva predstavljaju etimološki najstarije i osnovne nazive za boje, kao što je naziv 赤 /aka/ 'crveno', koji se eventualno dovodi u vezu sa 明るい /akarui/ 'jasno, svetlo' i sl. (v. npr. 堀井 1996: 5, o osnovnim nazivima u jap. jeziku v. Ilinčić 2004, Tričković 2006).



Delimično nezavisno od porekla i strukture, nazivi mogu biti različitog distributivnog karaktera. Osnovni nazivi za boje, koji su, dakle, etimološki teško razlučivi, moraju biti primenljivi u najrazličitijim situacijama, dok nazivi koji su stručni, ili delimično stručni, pri upotrebi podležu brojnim restrikcijama. Među njima, opet, postoje razlike. Tako se, na primer, biljka 藍 /ai / uglavnom više ne koristi u procesu farbanja, ali se prvobitno stručan naziv za boju 藍色 /ai-iro/ 'indigo boja' odomaćio u svakodnevnoj upotrebi, te se bez povezivanja sa samom tehnologijom ili datom biljkom i danas uobičajeno koristi, pa se može odrediti kao naziv sferno neograničene upotrebe. Isti je slučaj i sa nazivom za boju 紫 /murasaki/ 'ljubičasto', nastalim od istoimene biljke (lat. *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*), koja se koristila u procesu farbanja, a koji se može smatrati čak jednim od osnovnih naziva. Na suprotnoj strani nalaze se, na primer, još uvek neodomaćeni nazivi za boje, kao što je naziv マゼンタ /mazenta/ 'magenta', koji se koristi u štamparstvu, pa se zato može odrediti kao naziv sferno ograničene upotrebe. Inače, najveći broj stručnih termina za boje javlja se u oblastima kao što su tehnologija premaznih sredstava, dizajn, slikarstvo i slično.

Društveni status pripisan boji reflektuje se i na njen naziv, ali se i na osnovu naziva može shvatiti mnogo toga u vezi s datom bojom i kulturom u kojoj se ona upotrebljavala. Naime, skuplje boje predstavljaju privilegiju elite, te su kao takve cenjene, što utiče na to da i njihovi nazivi budu obeleženi pozitivnom emotivnom konotacijom. Uz to, kako je u takvom slučaju često reč o retkim, uvezenim bojama, nazivi za boje mogu nam otkriti i sliku o tome sa kojim je zemljama i u kom periodu razmena bila veća, kao i kakav je bio stav prema tim zemljama.

U slučaju japanskog jezika jasan primer je naziv 紅 /kurenai/ 'jarkocrvena boja'. Ova boja u svom nazivu etimološki nosi reč 呉 /kure/ 'Kina' i 藍 /ai/ 'indigo' (ovde sa proširenim značenjem 'pigment'), što sugeriše da se radi o pigmentu poreklom iz Kine. S obzirom na činjenicu da se ova boja puno upotrebljavala u ženskoj šminci, što je i danas uočljivo, npr. u reči 口紅 /kuchibeni/ 'ruž za usne', simbolika ovog naziva povezana je sa značenjima koja sugerišu 'lepo', 'ženstveno'; a u izvesnom smislu i 'raskošno' ili 'raskalašno'. Stoga je upotreba ovog naziva za boju gotovo uvek markirana ovim dvema nijansama značenja, 'boja koja je karakteristična za žene' (u smislu 'lepo', ali i 'izazovno') i '(skupa) boja stranog porekla' (up. i Ilinčić 2004).

Dakle, istorijske okolnosti jedne nacije oslikavaju se i u razvoju naziva za boje. U tom smislu pomenuli bismo dva perioda u japanskoj istoriji koja su se nametnula pri izučavanju semantičke strukture ovih naziva. To su periodi Heian (平安時代 1185-1333) i Edo (江戸時代 1600-1868), koji su se često pojavljivali u odrednicama naziva za boje, jer su određeni nazivi u njima nastajali, a neki s njihovim krajem i prestajali da postoje. Naša pretpostavka je da je stabilizovana društvena situacija, koja karakteriše ova dva perioda, imala uticaja na specifično negovanje umetnosti, što je prouzrokovalo potrebu za pronalaženjem novih boja, a time i novih naziva. U isto vreme, čini se da je takva klima pospešivala i jezičku kreativnost u stvaranju i upotrebi naziva za boje.

Lako saznajemo da je u periodu Heian omiljena boja bila ljubičasta, kao i svi njeni tonovi. Purpurna, tamnoljubičasta je bila i ostala boja plemstva, a svetla i nežna ljubičasta, boja trešnjinog cveta, simbol proleća, čak i samog Japana. Poezija ovog perioda bogata je asocijacijama vezanim za boju nekog predmeta. Što se naziva tiče, posebno su u tu svrhu korišćeni nazivi biljaka, dajući bojama predmeta još jednu

notu senzualnosti. Ne moramo naglašavati da se radilo većinom o cveću ljubičaste/ ružičaste boje.

S druge strane, period Edo, obeležen razvojem građanstva, na svoj način preplavio je japanski vokabular za boje novim terminima koji su u sebe uključivali morfemu 鼠 /nezumi/ 'miš, pacov', upućujući na tamnosivu, boju miša. Trgovcima, kao nižoj klasi od ustaljene aristokratije, čak i onima koji su se obogatili, bilo je propisano koje boje smeju nositi, a koje ne. Svila i jarke boje bile su rezervisane za plemstvo. Ipak, i bogati trgovci su želeli nositi svilu, a ne samo pamuk ili lan. Polako je u modu ušla svila u bojama pamuka, što je rezultiralo poplavom tada omiljenih sivih nijansi. Značajno je da je bojilo za sivu boju bilo lako dostupno te je i to doprinelo popularisanju sivkastih tonova.

Interesantno je da se tom prilikom umesto, do tada korišćenog a i danas odomaćenog naziva za sivu boju, 灰色 /hai-iro/, doslovno 'boja pepela', počeo upotrebljavati noviji naziv, 鼠色 /nezumi-iro/ 'mišija boja', koji je stvarao manje negativnih asocijacija. Pepeo je asocijativno povezan sa nečim što je izgorelo i što je kao takvo ugašeno i mrtvo, te se naziv 灰色 /hai-iro/ 'siva, boja pepela' upotrebljava u izrazima kao što su 「あいつは灰色だね」 /aitsu wa hai-iroda/ (doslovno 'on je sive boje') 'on je sumnjiv' ili 「灰色の青春」 /hai-iro no seishun/ (doslovno 'mladić sive boje') 'dosadan i neinteresantan mladić' (o promeni naziva v. 中江 2003: 181, primeri preuzeti iz *ibid.*). Iz primera je jasno da se negativna konotacija koju (siva) boja može imati ne odnosi samo na boju već i na njen naziv, kao i da izvorno značenje naziva može uticati na društveni status boje, te da se s promenom statusa boje mora promeniti i naziv.

Odnos prema boji i njenom nazivu je, dakle, često društveno-istorijski, ali i jezički motivisan. Takav složen odnos odlučujućih faktora uslovljava višedimenzionalnu semantičku strukturu datih reči, što pri proučavanju pruža značajan uvid u međusobnu povezanost ovih faktora, koji u nekom drugom slučaju mogu biti naizgled nezavisni, te time ostati nedovoljno razmatrani. Zbog svega navedenog, istraživanje boja i njenih naziva predstavlja bitan izvor važnih informacija, te kao takav verovatno nikada neće biti iscrpen.

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## SUMMARY

### THE SIGNIFICANCE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLOR TERMS RESEARCH WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM JAPANESE

This paper aims to illustrate some reasons for investigating color terms in a language. In doing so, we will concentrate on the finding that color terms and colors do not fully correspond, resulting in the fact that color terms can also influence the status of a color in a given society (and not only in the reverse order), which leads us to the intersections of linguistic, cultural and anthropological influences that can be viewed through color.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** naziv za boju, boja, japanski jezik, univerzalna simbolika, kultura, povezanost faktora.

## ■ IH KAN DEUTSCH SHREIBEN – PROBLEME MIT DER ORTHOGRAFIE DER SERBISCHSPRACHIGEN DEUTSCHLERNER

In diesem Beitrag wird die Rede von der Schreibkompetenz serbischsprachiger Deutschlerner an der wirtschaftlichen Hochschule, Universität Novi Sad, Serbien, sein. Der Ausgangspunkt für die Forschung war die Frage, welche Sprachaktivitäten im Vordergrund des bisherigen Deutschunterrichts gestanden haben und welche Erwartungen und Anforderungen an den Deutschunterricht gestellt werden sollen, um diesen nach dem Lehrplan erfolgreich durchzuführen. Da für den Wirtschaftsdeutschunterricht der Erwerb der vollständigen schriftlichen Kompetenz eine äußerst wichtige Rolle spielt, muss man dem große Aufmerksamkeit widmen. Diese Studie wird auf den Bereich der orthografischen Fehler beschränkt, weil sie momentan das größte Problem beim Schreiben der analysierten Testgruppe darstellt. Es wird nicht über die Fehlerursachen im Vergleich zur Muttersprache gesprochen. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist festzustellen, aus welchen Bereichen des Sprachsystems man Kenntnisse verbessern muss, um die Zahl der orthografischen Fehler in dieser Gruppe der Studenten/innen zu verringern und ob es hier nur um das nicht überwundene Stadium des Schriftsprachenerwerbs der deutschen Sprache geht.

Im ersten bzw. im zweiten Teil werden die Begriffe Fehler und Schreiben als Sprachaktivität erklärt. Danach werden die Ergebnisse der Umfrage nach der Selbsteinschätzung der Testgruppe und ihre Aufgabe vorgestellt. Die Fehler werden gesammelt und in das Fehlerraster eingetragen, was im vierten Teil detailliert erklärt wird. Die Daten werden statistisch bearbeitet und sie zeigen uns, auf welche Bereiche man sich im Unterrichtsprozess mehr konzentrieren sollte.

### 1. FEHLERBEGRIFF

Der Begriff „Fehler“ wird verwendet, um eine Handlung zu charakterisieren oder die Ergebnisse einer Handlung zu bezeichnen (vgl. Keller 1980: 39). Fehler werden „sowohl beim Rezipieren als auch beim Produzieren von sprachlichen Äußerungen als Leistungsversagen eingestuft, gegen das es vorzugehen gilt“ (Henrici und Zöfgen 1993: 3). Nach Corder (1967) kann man zwischen „errors“, vom Lerner selbst nicht erkennbare Kompetenzfehlern oder Systemverstößen, „mistakes“, Performanzfehlern, die gegen

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soziale Normen verstoßen sowie „lapses“, Flüchtigkeitsfehlern unterscheiden, die bei der Kontrolle auch vom Lerner erkennbar sind. Obwohl Fehler Defizite in der Beherrschung der Fremdsprache darstellen, werden sie positiv betrachtet, als eine Phase beim Fremdsprachenerwerb.

Es gibt verschiedene Klassifizierungen von Fehlern. Wir haben uns für die Klassifikation der Fehler nach Sprachebenen entschieden (Kleppin 1998: 42). Dabei sind phonetische/phonologische, morphosyntaktische, lexikosemantische, pragmatische und inhaltliche Fehler zu unterscheiden. Da über die Fehler auf verschiedenen Ebenen gesprochen wird (vgl. Stölting (1980); Pandžić (1992)), liegt das Interesse für diesen Beitrag auf der Ebene der orthografischen Richtigkeit.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. SCHREIBEN ALS SPRACHAKTIVITÄT

Einerseits wird Schreiben als „Strukturierung geistiger Handlungen“ (Kast 1999: 21) verstanden, als ein Prozess bzw. als ein konzentrischer Prozess, „bei dem der Schreibende sich in einer kreisförmigen Bewegung darum bemüht, dem, was er ausdrücken möchte, immer näher zu kommen, es zu ordnen, zu strukturieren“ (Kast 1999: 23). Andererseits wird Schreiben als Technik des Schreibens vom Buchstaben zum Wort dargestellt. Dabei besteht die Technik des Schreibens von der Grafie und Orthografie (Kremzer 1983: 136).

Die phonographischen und orthografischen Regeln sollten im ersten Jahr des Fremdsprachenunterrichts gelernt werden, um Probleme beim Schreiben gelenkter und in späteren Phasen freier Aufsätze zu verhindern. Dass man die Sprache als ein System betrachten muss, werden wir am Beispiel der orthografischen Fehler erkennen.

## 3. TESTGRUPPE

Die Aufsätze wurden von einer Testgruppe von 50 Studenten/innen geschrieben, die im ersten Semester des ersten Studienjahres an der wirtschaftlichen Hochschule in Novi Sad waren. Sie lernten Deutsch als erste Fremdsprache nach verschiedenen Lehrplänen und alle hatten auch Englisch als zweite Fremdsprache entweder in der Schule oder in privaten Sprachzentren gelernt. Ihre Deutschkenntnisse sind unterschiedlich. 92% der Studenten/innen haben mehr als 5 Jahre und 8% der Studenten/innen haben bis zu 5 Jahre Deutsch in der Schule gelernt. 6% der Studenten/innen in dieser Testgruppe sind Rückkehrer, die einige Zeit (höchstens anderthalb Jahre) in deutschsprachigen Ländern im Kindesalter gelebt haben und 2% haben früher Germanistik studiert. Sie sind nicht aus dieser Gruppe ausgeschlossen, weil sie für diese Studie auch interessant sind.

Alle Studenten/innen haben ihre Deutschkenntnisse nach vier Sprachaktivitäten (Lesen, Schreiben, Sprechen, Hören) wie folgt bewertet:

1. Ich kann lesen. -27,5%
2. Ich kann lesen und schreiben. -35%
3. Ich kann lesen und Hörtexte verstehen. -2,5%

4. Ich kann lesen, schreiben und Hörtexte verstehen. -17,5%  
 5. Ich kann lesen, schreiben, sprechen und Hörtexte verstehen. -17,5%

Da für die Untersuchung das Schreiben als Sprachaktivität von Bedeutung ist, werden nur die Prozentsätze für die schriftliche Sprachaktivität gerechnet. Laut der Selbsteinschätzung der Testgruppe können 70% der Befragten schreiben.

Die Gruppe hatte die Aufgabe je nach ihren Deutschkenntnissen einen freien Aufsatz zu Hause zu schreiben. Das Ziel des Schreibens war festzustellen, wie weit die Studenten/innen fähig sind, sich frei schriftlich zu äußern und was ihnen dabei Probleme bereitet. Die Testgruppe ist dessen bewusst, dass das Schreiben für das Fach Wirtschaftsdeutsch wichtig ist und sie nehmen aktiv am Unterrichtsprozess teil.

#### 4. ZUM KORPUS UND FEHLERRASTER

Das Korpus enthält 50 Aufsätze verschiedener Länge, deren durchschnittliche Wortzahl 138 ist. Für die Analyse orthografischer Fehler wurde das modifizierte Raster von M. Fix verwendet (vgl. Fix 2002: 45-46), das für diese Gruppe entwickelt wird. Die Fehler aus den Aufsätzen wurden nach den Kategorien klassifiziert und in das folgende Fehlerraster eingetragen:

Klassifizierung	Orthografischer Fehler mit Beispiel
1. Groß-Kleinschreibung 1.1. Groß statt klein 1.2. Klein statt groß	zu Führen, Für spass, ende, tausend
2. das-dass	Manche sagen, das
3. Wortfamilie mit Auslautverhärtung (<b>/<p>, <d>/<t>, <g>/<k>)	Weld, genuk
4. Wortfamilien mit (<ä>/<e>, <äu>/<eu>)	enliches, Gebeude
5. Inkorrekte Markierung ungespannter (kurzer) Vokale 5.1. Überflüssige Markierung (Doppel- statt Einfachkonsonant) 5.2. Fehlende Markierung (Einfach- statt Doppelkonsonant) 5.3. Kurzvokal als Langvokal markiert	Schulle, diennen interessant, imer gebohren
6. <ss> statt <ß> bei gespannten (langen) Vokalen und Diphthongen	Strassen, liess

Klassifizierung	Orthografischer Fehler mit Beispiel
7. Verwechslung stimmhaft-stimmlos 7.1. <s> statt <ß> 7.2. <ß> statt <s>	heist, Fusbal Mußeen
8. Inkorrekte Markierung des gespannten Vokals /i/: 8.1. Überflüssige Markierung 8.2. Fehlende Markierung	giebt Beispil, hir
9. Inkorrekte Markierung gespannter Vokale: „Dehnungs-h“, Doppelgrapheme 9.1. Überflüssige Markierung 9.2. Fehlende Markierung	Supermärckte Einwoner, berümt
10. Weitere Probleme auf der Laut-Buchstabenebene 10.1. Verwechslung <v> statt <w> 10.2. Verwechslung <sch> statt <st> 10.3. <a> statt <e> 10.4. <ai> statt <ei>	vorviegend, etvas schtet original Keiser
11. Fremdwörter	Centrum, Mussic, for
12. Auslassung von Buchstaben oder Fehlen von Umlauten	alteste, Grundshule, Stad

All die Kategorien im Raster sind nach orthografischen Lernstrategien entwickelt. Man kann folgende Schreibungen in diesem Raster unterscheiden: grammatisch bedingte Schreibungen (1-2), morphologisch bedingte (3-4), phonographisch ableitbare Schreibungen (5-8), weitere Probleme auf der Laut-Buchstabenebene (9-10), Fremdwörter (11) und Auslassung von Buchstaben und Umlauten (12) (vgl. Fix 2002: 46).

Da für das Forschungsinteresse morphosyntaktische, lexikosemantische, pragmatische und inhaltliche Fehler im Hintergrund sind, bewertet man nur die Summe der orthografischen Fehler. Dabei verwendet man die folgende Formel, um den Fehlerquotienten (Fq) zu errechnen (Kleppin 1998: 70):

$$Fq = \frac{\sum F \times 100}{\sum W}$$

Wenn wir die Fehlerquote mit der Wortzahl vergleichen, sieht die Situation so aus:

	Zahl der analysierten Aufsätze	Wortzahl pro Aufsatz (durchschnittlich)	Fehlerquote (in % der Wortzahl)
Studenten/innen	50	138	6,57

Wenn die Wortzahl mit der Fehlerquote pro Aufsatz verglichen wird, stellt sich aus den gelieferten Daten heraus, dass die Testgruppe über nicht genügende Kenntnisse der deutschen schriftsprachlichen Regeln verfügt. Es ist fast sicher, dass die Studenten/innen in der Anfangsphase die Regeln gelernt haben, aber es ist deutlich, dass sie sie nicht erworben haben. Da es bei der Sprachkompetenz immer um eine ständige Bewegung geht (vgl. Harden 2006: 154-155), könnte es leicht möglich sein, dass sie diese Regeln in der Anfangsphase beherrscht haben, aber im Laufe des Sprachlernprozesses entweder verlernt oder durch andere verdrängt haben.

Um die Fehlerzahl übersichtlicher darzustellen, haben wir uns für die Darstellung der Fehler nach den Kategorien in Prozent entschlossen. Auf diese Weise ist es deutlicher zu erkennen, welche von diesen Kategorien im Allgemeinen das schwerste Problem den Studenten/innen bei der Beherrschung der Orthografie bereitet.

Kategorie	% aller Fehler
1. Groß-Kleinschreibung	52
2. das-dass	0,73
3. Wortfamilie mit Auslautverhärtung	1,81
4. Wortfamilien mit (<ä>/<e>, <äu>/<eu>)	2,18
5. Inkorrekte Markierung ungespannter (kurzer) Vokale (z. B. <nn>, <ck>, <ss>)	11,63
6. <ss> statt <ß> bei gespannten (langen) Vokalen und Diphthongen	3,63
7. Verwechslung stimmhaft-stimmlos ( <ss>) statt <ß>)	2,54
8. Inkorrekte Markierung des gespannten Vokals /i/:	3,63
9. Inkorrekte Markierung gespannter Vokale: „Dehnungs-h“, Doppelgrapheme	5,09
10. Weitere Probleme auf der Laut-Buchstabenebene	3,27
11. Fremdwörter	7,27
12. Auslassung von Buchstaben oder Fehlen von Umlauten	6,18

Um die Situation noch deutlicher zu erläutern, werden aus diesen 12 Kategorien aus dem Fehlerraster drei Bereiche gebildet (vgl. Fix 2002: 49-50). Für die erste Kategorie müssen die Lerner über Grammatikkenntnisse der einzelnen Wortklassen verfügen. Das Hauptproblem liegt in der Unterscheidung der Substantive und Substantivierungen von anderen Wortklassen und ihre Kleinschreibung. Das andere Problem in dieser Kategorie ist die Großschreibung der anderen Wortklassen neben Substantiven.

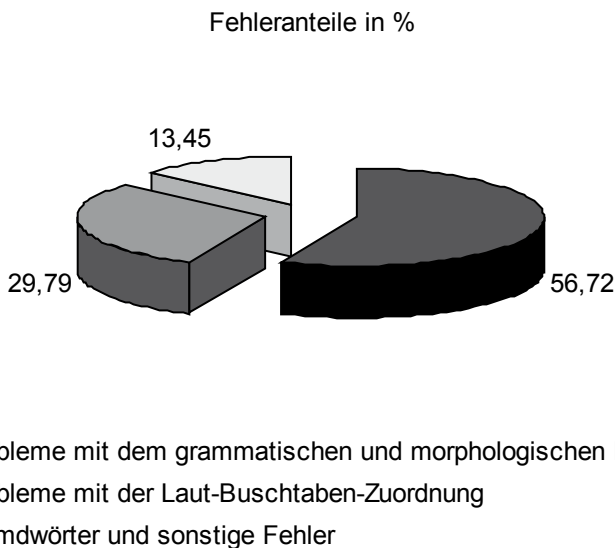


Bei der Schreibung von das-dass ist auch grammatisches Wissen erforderlich, um einen klaren Unterschied zwischen Artikelwort und Konjunktion zu machen. Für die anderen drei Kategorien 3, 4, und 5 ist morphologisches Wissen über die einzelnen Wortfamilien erforderlich. Es ist bemerkbar, dass die ersten fünf Kategorien Kenntnisse im Bereich des grammatischen und morphologischen Prinzips der Orthografie verlangen.

Demgegenüber stehen die Fehler aus den Kategorien (5-10), die im Bereich Laut-Buchstaben-Zuordnung sind. Die Fehler in diesem Bereich entstehen aus fehlenden Kenntnissen über das phonographische Prinzip der Orthografie der deutschen Sprache.

Die letzten zwei Kategorien (11-12) gehören zu den sonstigen Fehlern. Einerseits handelt es sich hier um Fremdwörter, die nach den Gesetzmäßigkeiten anderer Sprachen geschrieben sind und deswegen als sonstige Fehler betrachtet werden. Andererseits geht es um das Fehlen von Umlauten oder Auslassung von Buchstaben, die als Flüchtigkeitsfehler verstanden werden können und aus diesem Grund den sonstigen Fehlern zugeordnet sind.

Im folgenden Diagramm wird die prozentuale Aufteilung der orthografischen Fehler nach diesen drei Bereichen dargestellt:



## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Aus den Ergebnissen der Untersuchung kann man feststellen, dass die Testgruppe über mangelnde sprachschriftliche Kompetenz verfügt, was die deutsche Orthografie betrifft. Die gruppierten Fehlerkategorien in drei Bereichen machen klar, dass das Problem der Orthografie komplexer ist. Gleichzeitig ist leicht erkennbar, wo festgestellte Mängel sind und wie man den Unterricht gestalten sollte, um die schriftliche Kompetenz der Testgruppe zu verbessern. In der ersten Phase der Arbeit an der Verbesserung der Schreibkompetenz sollte man sich auf die grammatisch-morphologischen Regeln

konzentrieren bzw. auf die Unterscheidung zwischen den Wortklassen und -familien. In der zweiten und dritten Phase sollte der Lernprozess auf die Unterschiede zwischen Aussprache und Schreiben bzw. auf das Schreiben von Fremdwörtern in der deutschen Sprache gerichtet werden. Man muss betonen, dass das Stadium, in dem die Testgruppe momentan war, sich verändern kann, wenn die orthografischen Regeln wiederholt oder gelernt und dann von den Studenten/innen erworben werden.

- 1 Bei der Fehleridentifizierung haben wir uns an die neue deutsche Rechtschreibung aus dem Jahre 1998 gerichtet. Vgl. D. 1.

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## REZIME

### ZNAM DA PIŠEM NEMAČKI-PROBLEMI SA ORTOGRAFIJOM GOVORNIKA/ICA SRPSKOG JEZIKA KOJI UČE NEMAČKI

U nastavi nemačkog poslovnog jezika daje se prednost sticanju kompetencije u jezičkoj aktivnosti pisanja, prvenstveno zbog poslovne korespondencije. U ovom radu govori se o ortografskim greškama studenata/kinja Visoke poslovne škole strukovnih studija u Novom Sadu, čiji primeri sastava ukazuju na to, da se i posle višegodišnjeg

učenja nemačkog kao stranog jezika javljaju greške tipične za početni nivo učenja stranog jezika. Cilj rada je da se utvrdi iz kojih područja jezičkog sistema treba da se poboljšaju znanja i kako da se organizuje nastava radi smanjivanja broja grešaka na ortografskom nivou.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** pisanje, kompetencija, ortografija, greška.

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## ■ THE USE OF ARTICLES IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Although it is well known that many second language (L2) learners of English have persistent trouble using articles properly until very late stages of acquisition, or do not ever reach native-like levels of performance, the primary causes of their difficulties still remain unclear. This study addresses the problem by examining the knowledge of the English article system that learners employ when selecting articles in a given situation.

Articles such as *a(n)* and *the* are the most commonly used words in English, and yet their usage is in fact surprisingly complex. Part of the complexity can be attributed to the fact that the English article system does not consist of one-to-one form and meaning relationships (Butler 2002). This complexity poses a number of challenges for L2 learners of English. This is true even for those learners who have studied English for a number of years. Teachers of English as a second language find it difficult to understand how and why their students choose to use articles in the ways that they do. Therefore, effectively teaching the article system to their students often remains an elusive goal.

Driven by my students' difficulties in acquiring the English article system, I decided to do a small-scale research on their use of articles in job interviews. I presume that students will make many mistakes using them. The reason for that might lie in the fact that there is no such category in the Croatian language which is students' native language (L1). Therefore, articles are expressed by using other categories such as demonstratives, numerals and pronouns.

This analysis will be corpus-based which is well suited to investigations of language use, which must be empirical, analyzing the actual distributional patterns in natural texts. According to Biber and Conrad (1999), corpora can also be used to compare grammatical structures by studying the ways in which seemingly similar structures occur in different contexts and serve different functions.

The primary aim of the present study is to investigate the differences in the use of the articles by non-native students of English when being interviewed for a job (spoken discourse) and native speakers of English (journalists) in daily newspaper articles (written discourse).

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## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There has been a body of research on the article acquisition and use by learners of English as a foreign language (Huebner 1985; Master 1987; Thomas 1989; Chaudron/Parker 1990; Young 1996; Robertson 2000; Butler 2002; White 2003). The difficulties that L2 learners have in understanding articles are surprising if compared with the experience of children who are acquiring English as their L1. Children seem to acquire the article system at a relatively early age in L1 acquisition (somewhere between 2;8 and 3;8 years old), and they typically exhibit a low frequency of overall errors (Butler 2002). Huebner (1983, 1985) found in a longitudinal study that his adult L2 learner initially overused the definite article *the* with almost all nouns in his speech. Flooding of *the* was also observed in learners with low English proficiency from other L1 backgrounds such as Japanese (Chaudron/Parker 1990) and Czech and Slovak (Young 1996). The same results were obtained in the present study. Master (1987) also found that *the* was overused. He also reported that among learners whose L1 did not have an article system (such as Croatian), the appropriate use of *a* was delayed when compared with *the*. Based on these results, both Huebner and Master suggested that L2 learners initially might associate *the* with the feature of hearer's knowledge in contrast to children learning the English article system as part of their L1.

Thomas (1989), however, analyzed L2 learners' article usage in their production and presented a different claim from those of Huebner and Master. Thomas's findings included the following three observations: (a) whereas L1 children show accurate use of *a* at an early stage, the accurate use of *a* by adult L2 learners was delayed; (b) the most common errors by L2 learners across proficiency levels were overgeneralized zero articles; and (c) both L1 child acquirers and L2 learners overgeneralized *the* in first-mention contexts.

Zdorenko and Paradis (2008) did a survey on the acquisition of articles in child second language English with a longitudinal corpus of narratives from English second language children with first languages that do not have definite / indefinite articles (Chinese, Korean and Japanese) and L1s that do have article systems (Spanish, Romanian and Arabic). It was hypothesized that L1 transfer most likely plays a role in L2 learners' acquisition of English articles. In the course of acquisition, L2 learners of English have been documented to omit articles in both definite and indefinite contexts, and to misuse them, that is substituting one in the context of another (Huebner 1985; Master 1987; Thomas 1989), which is also true for Croatian learners of English. Zdorenko and Paradis concluded that both adult and child learners' acquisition patterns were influenced by the greater complexity of the indefinite article in English, and omission errors were most commonly produced by learners whose L1s lacked articles.

As far as omission errors are concerned, they also have been documented in numerous studies of English article acquisition. For instance, Huebner (1985) and Robertson (2000) found a lot of use of the zero article in oral language. It has also been widely reported that L2 English learners are significantly more accurate in choosing the definite article in definite contexts than they are in choosing the indefinite article in indefinite contexts.

### 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study I will try to answer the following research questions:

- a. To what extent do students of English as a foreign language use the definite and indefinite articles in the spoken register, i.e. job interviews?
- b. What could be the reasons for their incorrect use of articles in case they make mistakes?
- c. How can the frequencies of occurrence of the indefinite and the definite article be compared across two corpora?
- d. Are articles more often used in spoken or written register?

### 4. PARTICIPANTS

The participants used in the present study were 20-year-old second year full-time students of Information Technology from the University Centre for Professional Studies in Split, Croatia. Within this institution, English is an obligatory subject in the first as well as in the second year of study. Students have to complete a general English course being a part of the first year curriculum, whereas they learn English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in the second year. Although they have been learning English for about ten years, they are at pre-intermediate level of English due to the fact that for most of them English was only a marginal subject during their secondary education. Therefore, their knowledge of English is rather poor.

### 5. METHODOLOGY

The data gathered for this study were both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The present study is based on an analysis of two corpora containing data from a spoken and a written register. The spoken corpus which is rather small was compiled of 5 students' job interviews containing 3,065 words while the written corpus was compiled of 49 newspaper articles taken from *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, an American West coast daily newspaper containing 52,893 words. All articles within this corpus were issued from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2004 till 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2004 in the News section. The written corpus was drawn from the materials prepared by Dr. Enikő Csomay for her PhD-level course *Discourse Analysis: A Corpus Linguistic Perspective* held at the University of Pecs in August 2007. Since this corpus was compiled for the classroom-use only, it must be emphasized that it does not meet the criteria stated by Biber (1993) in his article on the representativeness in corpus design. Therefore, the conclusions of this research must be discussed bearing in mind the limitations of the corpus used in the analysis. The quantitative analysis of articles was undertaken with corpus analysis toolkit *Antconc 3.2.1*. for Windows (2007), while its concordance feature was used to capture all of the instances of the indefinite and definite articles in both corpora.

As far as the spoken register is concerned, students had to role-play a job interview. One student was an employer and the other one a candidate. The candidate

had to submit his/her CV and a letter of application for one of the given vacancies that seemed the most interesting for him/her. The employer asked the candidate questions concerning his education and previous work experience. All interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed for further usage based on pre-defined transcribing conventions.

## 6. FINDINGS

The first issue that was interesting to see was the actual use of indefinite articles across two corpora. I wanted to see whether those articles are more often used by students or journalists or, in other words, in spoken or written register.

	Job interviews	Newspaper articles
Number of interviews / articles	5	49
Number of words	3 065	52 893
Occurrences	393	1 275
Percentage	12.82	2.41

Table 1. Use of the indefinite article *a* in spoken and written corpus

Results indicate that students seem to use the indefinite article *a* more often than journalists. There is probably a relationship between the frequency of articles and of nouns, according to which students use more nouns in their role-plays than journalists in their newspaper articles. It can also be concluded that this indefinite article is more used in spoken than in written corpus. The relatively high distribution of the indefinite article *a* in students' interviews might be attributed to two factors. Firstly, there is a high frequency of singular nouns in relation to plural nouns in conversation resulting in more indefinite articles than otherwise expected. Secondly, pronouns are preferred over noun phrases as anaphoric expressions in conversation resulting in fewer definite articles.

The findings from this study differ from those presented by Biber *et al.* (1999) in *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE, henceforth) that reports the results of corpus-based analyses based on approximately 20 million words from four registers: conversation, fiction, newspaper language and academic prose.

According to Biber *et al.*, "the distribution of the indefinite article is relatively similar across spoken and written registers" (1999: 267). One of the reasons for different results could be the discrepancy in the corpus size. Therefore, we cannot be sure whether the results from a smaller corpus are representative or not. Another reason could be the insufficient students' knowledge of the use of articles. This could be seen in the following examples in which students make mistakes concerning the use of *a*:

- \*Where do you see yourself in a nearby future?
- \*I have a bills to pay.
- \*What about working time? – It's a flexible....

The second question is to what extent students and journalists use another indefinite article *an*, and whether the results will be the same as in LGSWE.

	Job interviews	Newspaper articles
Number of interviews / articles	5	49
Number of words	3 065	52 893
Occurrences	4	198
Percentage	0.13	3.35

Table 2. Use of the indefinite article *an* in spoken and written corpus

As the results show, *an* is more used in written than in spoken corpus which is almost the same in LGSWE. According to their findings, “the form *an* of the indefinite article is much less frequent than *a*, although it is slightly more common in news”, meaning newspapers (Biber *et al.* 1999: 267). In addition, conversation sometimes makes use of the demonstrative determiners *this/these* in introducing new entities. The higher frequency of *an* in newspapers reflects the vocabulary of the register, where *an* is required more commonly with Latinate vocabulary (which has many words beginning with *ab-*, *ad-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *ob-*, etc.)

The definite article *the* will probably be widely used across the corpora because it occurs with countable as well as uncountable nouns.

	Job interviews	Newspaper articles
Number of interviews / articles	5	49
Number of words	3 065	52 893
Occurrences	51	3 072
Percentage	1.66	5.8

Table 3. Use of the definite article *the* in spoken and written corpus

The overall results show that articles are generally more common in written than in spoken corpus. The definite article is almost twice as common as the indefinite article in the written register because it has a greater range of uses. Firstly, it combines with both countable and uncountable nouns as well as both singular and plural nouns. In addition, the definite article is used commonly for subsequent mention, and when used



cataphorically, it can also introduce new referents. In contrast, indefinite articles are used primarily to introduce a new referent.

As for students' mistakes in using the definite article *the*, here are some examples:

*\*I currently work at the computer company. (mentioned for the first time)*

*\*Are you ready to work under the pressure?*

Taking into account students' examples of the use or omission of definite as well as indefinite articles, it can be concluded that there are quite a number of cases where they actually omit articles instead of using them. The reason for that may lie in their lack of knowledge of grammar rules on one hand, and in their insufficient reading in general on the other hand. Reading magazines, newspapers and books written in the target language, in this case in English, could really help students to better understand English syntax and to get an idea of the real use of articles in authentic materials.

Here are some examples of students' omission of articles where they had to use them:

*\*That's good answer. (That's a good answer)*

*\*Where do you see yourself in future? (in the future)*

*\*Do you have driving license? (a driving license)*

*Where do you see yourself in 10 years? – \*Married with 2 children, good job, good paycheck, my own car and house. (a good job, a good paycheck and a house)*

## 7. DISCUSSION

As it could be seen from students' sentences taken from the concordance list, it is apparent that they make mistakes in using all articles. The question is why Croatian students, as well as other non-native learners of English, find using articles so difficult. Firstly, one of the reasons may lie in the lack of such category in the Croatian grammar in which demonstratives, pronouns and mostly numerals play the role of articles. Therefore, students have never got acquainted with the notion of articles in their own grammar, and accordingly find them difficult to use. This statement could be connected to Lado and his theoretical foundations for the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis that were formulated in his *Linguistics Across Cultures* (Lado 1957, available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contrastive\\_analysis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contrastive_analysis)). In this book Lado claimed that "those elements which are similar to (the learner's) native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult". In other words, positive transfer occurs when we are trying to learn the elements from a second/foreign language which are present in the mother tongue and we are familiar with them, whereas negative transfer occurs when learning those elements which are different from our L1. While this was not a novel suggestion, Lado was the first to provide a comprehensive theoretical treatment and to suggest a systematic set of technical procedures for the contrastive study of languages. This involved describing the languages (using structural linguistics), comparing them and predicting learning difficulties. The difficulty in mastering certain structures in a

second language depended on the difference between the learners' mother language (L1) and the language they were trying to learn.

In its strongest formulation, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis claimed that all the errors made in learning the L2 could be attributed to *interference* by the L1. However, this claim could not be sustained by empirical evidence that was accumulated in the mid- and late 1970s. It was soon pointed out that many errors predicted by Contrastive Analysis were simply not made in learners' language. Even more confusingly, some uniform errors were made by learners irrespective of their L1. It thus became clear that Contrastive Analysis could not predict learning difficulties, and was only useful in the retrospective explanation of errors. These developments, along with the decline of the behaviourist and structuralist paradigms considerably weakened the appeal of Contrastive Analysis.

Secondly, students' problems with articles may arise from inadequate and insufficient presentation of this grammatical category in textbooks and grammar books they are using in the English course. To illustrate bad presentation of articles in a textbook, I've chosen *Cutting Edge Pre-intermediate* (Cunningham/Moor 2001) that was used in the first year of study by low-level students within their general English course. In my opinion, the authors of this book gave only general examples of using articles that are very often decontextualized. In addition, in this book there are not too many exceptions to the rule that often occur in English.

Speaking of grammar books, it should be noted that authors and teachers, when engaged in material development for the purpose of language instruction and assessment, should make decisions about the language actually used in everyday situations and about linguistic features and specific words that should be included when illustrating a grammatical feature. Recently, in quite a number of grammar books authors prefer using authentic materials for presenting language from natural texts rather than made-up examples (Biber and Reppen 2002). They also confront some basic issues such as: which grammatical features should be included in a lesson or book, which should be excluded, how much space should be given to included features, what should be the order of grammatical topics. All these questions should be discussed in details before writing a grammar book in order to provide an accurate reflection of the language actually used by speakers and writers in natural situations.

When talking about grammar presentation in the classroom, I can say from my experience that most students prefer using pictures, images and spatial understanding, not only for teaching grammar but for teaching new vocabulary as well. Therefore, they like employing visual learning style. Since grammar rules that should be learnt could be sometimes boring for some students, it is up to teachers to present them in an interesting and amusing way. Materials from the Internet are widely used in classrooms, partly because most students are acquainted with the possibilities of the Internet, and partly because they find those materials more interesting than those in the text- or grammar books.

In discussing article acquisition by L2 learners, one has to keep in mind two separate issues. Firstly, the frequency of each error type differs depending on the task performed (Tarone/Parish 1988). In general, production tasks, such as interviews and essay writing, have produced lower error rates than objective tasks, such as

cloze tests. Researchers have attributed the lower error rates in production tasks to learners' avoidance of uncertain uses of articles in these tasks. Thus, it appears that collecting data from a variety of tasks, in addition to production tasks such as oral interviews and essay writing, is important for examining different types of article use by L2 learners.

## 8. CONCLUSION

I want to emphasize once more that all results drawn from this study should be subjected to careful verification and re-examination, as the corpora used for the analysis were compiled for classroom-use only and therefore they were not representative according to principles of corpus design (Biber 1993). The results of the present analysis suggest that articles are generally more common in written than in spoken corpus. The definite article is almost twice as common as the indefinite article in the written register because it has a greater range of uses. It can be combined with both countable and uncountable nouns, as well as both singular and plural nouns. Moreover, the definite article is used commonly for subsequent mention, and when used cataphorically, it can also introduce new referents. In contrast, indefinite articles are used primarily to introduce a new entity.

It should be noted that the present study has some limitations. Data gathered for the spoken corpus are not sufficient in order to be representative, and the comparison was made between the spoken and the written corpus although there have already been some similar examples as in Biber *et al.* (2004) where they contrasted two different registers – classroom teaching and textbooks.

Despite such limitations, it is hoped that the information gained from this study may provide teachers with a new means of identifying and understanding learners' problems, and indicate areas where language instruction can be made more effective. This study indicates that learners' errors stem from a number of sources. Unfortunately, articles do not appear to have been the focus of very much attention in many L2 classrooms to date. However, the results of this study indicate the importance of considering a more suitable way of teaching the article system in order to best help students become proficient in the use of articles.

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## SUMMARY

### THE USE OF ARTICLES IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE

This paper deals with a survey describing the students' use of articles in a spoken register that was compared to the use of articles in a written register. The results showed that articles are generally more common in written than in spoken corpus.

The definite article is almost twice as common as the indefinite article in the written register because it has a greater range of uses. Since in the current language teaching practice and theory the emphasis is put on the communicative language competence, it is important to decide how to best help students become proficient in the use of articles. Due to the small size of the corpus, the conclusions of the present study should be subjected to further re-examination and verification.

**KEYWORDS:** students' usage of definite and indefinite articles, spoken and written register, grammar presentation.

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## ■ CHANGING MOTIFS IN ARTHURIAN LITERATURE: TOWARDS A NEW ROUND TABLE

### INTRODUCTION

Literature serves several purposes, and one of them helps an author to manipulate people's opinions. Just a look at the quantity of books published under Franco's regime about Spanish past glories (the Empire, the conquest of America) can give us an idea of it: by looking back to the past, the readers could forget about their present problems. Novels written in the Romantic period also helped in this aim of evading the present.

The authors of Arthurian literature, past and present, have been well aware of the power that a text has. Consequently, they have used their ideas to influence people or to criticize contemporary affairs under the cover of a narration of the past. This is especially evident in the case of religion and the role of some of the characters. This paper analyses several texts from different literary periods, mainly concentrating on Bernard Cornwell's Arthurian trilogy to demonstrate this idea. The first part of this paper will concentrate on the so-called Early Arthurian Literature, following the nomenclature used by Lacy, Ashe and Mancoff (1997), the period which finishes with Malory's masterpiece. In the second section, the analysis focuses on the Modern Arthurian Literature, written after Malory.

### EARLY ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

It is a well-known fact that one of the earliest mentions to the Arthurian world, but not to Arthur himself, is the diatribe wrote by Gildas in the sixth century. He was a monk, probably the son of a powerful chieftain of the Clyde area; his birth date is estimated c.500, which makes him a contemporary to a hypothetically real Arthur. As it was customary at the age, and thanks to his privileged position, he attended an illustrious school founded by St Illtud in southern Wales, in modern Llantwit Major. It is reasonable to think that his religious background had an influence on his views on contemporary affairs. In *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, he criticises five kings, whom he calls *tyrants*, a term which has caused lots of debates over its intention, since in classical Greek it meant both an aristocratic ruler (over a small area) and also

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a dictator. It is very likely that when he talks of these five tyrants, he is using the first meaning, although the way he describes them does not rule out the second. Gildas says that the Isle of Britain "has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but they are wicked. They often plunder and terrorize- the innocent; they defend and protect- the guilty and thieving" (White 1997: 4). He continues his condemnation with the aim of comparing the coetaneous kings to the previous generation, in which an outstanding leader, whom he calls Ambrosius Aurelianus, checked the advance of the Saxons at the battle of Mount Badon. Later writers attached this victory to Arthur.

The way he contrasts these two situations (before and after Mount Badon) is by describing the Isle of Britain, which used to be a wonderful place to live in: "But the cities of our land are not populated even now as they once were; right to the present they are deserted, in ruins and unkempt... That was why kings, public and private persons, priests and clergymen kept to their own stations." (White (ed.) 1997: 3-4) By way of contrast, contemporary rulers are "adulterous and enemies of God" (White (ed.) 1997: 4). For this reason, God has decided to punish them after they left behind the old good Christian customs. He describes Britain as a paradise "decorated with wide plains and agreeable set hills, excellent for vigorous agriculture, and mountains especially suited to varying the pasture for animals" (Winterbottom 1978: 17). However, his contemporary Britain is "fertile of tyrants". The British have rebelled against the good order, God, and against their fellow countrymen. Gildas's diatribe is political, but, above all, religious: as Jeremiah with Israel, Gildas understands the afflictions of the Brits are the wage for their sins. He states that "the old saying of the prophet denouncing his people could have been aptly applied to our country: "Lawless sons, you have abandoned God, and provoked to anger the holy one of Israel. Why go on being beaten for adding to your wickedness?" (Winterbottom 1978: 25) Later authors, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, also attributed the Anglo-Saxon invasion to the sins of Brits, and this became a classical topic in medieval Arthurian literature. It is important to emphasise here that the condemnation has a clear religious nuance, but it is directed against the political rulers of the age- not against the Church as an institution.

The next step in the composition of Arthurian propaganda corresponds to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who can be considered the author of Arthur's "biography". Although he was probably born in Wales, his main interest was on Brittany and Breton history, something that some academics have taken as a proof of his Breton ascendancy; however, other scholars (Padel 2000) affirm that there is nothing which can prove that Monmouth was of Breton stock. Whatever the case may be, in 1151, he was anointed Bishop of St Asaph at a time when the Anglo-Norman monarchy did not consecrate Welshmen bishops in Welsh sees. He mainly addressed his *Historia Regum Britanniae* to two men: Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of king Henry I, and Waleran, Count of Mellent, both of Norman stock, so it is easy to assume that he wanted to satisfy the Norman audience.

However, he also wanted to please the Church. In fact, this institution helped the Normans in their process of conquest. Geoffrey's Arthur is crowned by Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, and some of the most important Christian holidays, such as Christmas, are also explained in detail. The importance of the Church is also stressed in the necessity to atone for one's sins and the best example of that is Queen Guinevere.

When Arthur goes to fight the Romans on the continent, she is left in charge of the country along with Mordred, who was “living adulterously and out of wedlock with Queen Guinevere, who had broken the vows of her earlier marriage” (Thorpe (ed.) 1966: 257). She has to pay a price for this sin and decides to become a nun in Caerleon “and there, in the Church of Saint Julius the Martyr, she took her vows among the nuns, promising to lead a chaste life” (Thorpe (ed.) 1996: 259). The topic developed into one of the most important and recurring themes of Medieval Arthurian Literature; Guinevere becomes a nun in the French *La mort le roi Artu*, in the English *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* and *Alliterative Le Morte Arthur* as well as in Malory’s work, all texts characterised by its religious content. There are some more indications of the importance of religion in Geoffrey’s work: the anachronism of choosing a Muslim Spanish King to help Roman Emperor Lucius in his battle against Arthur, or Mordred, helped by the Saxon Chelric, who brings “eight hundred ships filled with armed pagans.” (Thorpe 1996: 258)

British medieval authors were not the only ones to take advantage of the propagandistic features of literature. French Arthurian Literature, with close connections with the British, also made use of them. The first great figure in French writing on Arthur is Chrétien de Troyes, who wrote five romances, all complete and finished under the patronage of Marie de Champagne, except for the last one, *Perceval* (c.1182), whose sponsor was Philippe, Count of Flanders. Philippe’s patronage fits in with the idea expressed by Köhler (1970) that these texts were mainly commissioned by the nobles, at a time when both nobility and royalty were at odds: by presenting a passive king (Arthur, as *roi fainéant*), the nobles laid their claim of being a more positive, socially-engaged class. Furthermore, the knights that Chrétien and his followers described fulfilled the idea of the medieval Christian champion, who served God, his king and his lady and, by extension, the whole society.

Early Arthuriana reached its peak with Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*. Malory must have read the *Lancelot*, the *Queste du Saint Grial* and *Le mort le roi Artu* from the Vulgate as well and maybe the Post-Vulgate *Merlin*. But he also made use of some native sources, mainly the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and the *Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur*. All these sources shaped the text that many scholars hold as the summit of Arthuriana and also gave a final touch to some of the most common motifs: (a) the king’s birth, his marriage with Guinevere, the alliance with Merlin and the first chapters dealing with Lancelot’s life; (b) the king’s successes, the institution of the Round Table, the search for the Grail and the definitive establishment of the four most important knights of the cycle and their role on the search for the Grail; and (c) the motif of the Wheel of Fortune, even though underplayed by Malory, Arthur’s fall due to Mordred’s betrayal and Guinevere’s affair with Lancelot.

Malory attached importance to human love, but especially to knighthood. We must not forget that Malory was a soldier himself so, despite having the works of Robert de Boron, and some French romances in mind, his ideal was not only love, but also war. His being very religious, he also attached much importance to Christian perfection and, in point of fact, even though he criticises the adultery of Lancelot and Guinevere, he also dramatises their Christian salvation. Lancelot visits Guinevere in her nunnery and, in a touching speech, she tells him to return to France and marry, to which he replies that he will also take the vows and both die peacefully. Lupack points



out that, as a consequence, Lancelot “can, like a saint, be taken to heaven by angels”, while, at the same time, “he can also be praised by Ector as the most courageous knight, the truest lover, the most gentle man, and the sternest knight when facing a foe.” (Lupack, 2005: 144)

## MODERN ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

After Malory, Arthurian literature underwent a period of decay, stressed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By contrast, the nineteenth century witnessed the renaissance of Arthuriana thanks to the work of Lord Tennyson. However, before him, another English poet and writer had composed some texts about Arthur. Thomas Love Peacock was born in 1785 and worked for 37 years in the Company of the Eastern Indies, period in which he wrote and composed two poems of Arthurian matter: “Calidore” (1816) and “The Round Table; or, King Arthur’s Feast” (1817), a parody in which Merlin tries to cheer his bored king up by convening British different kings. However, his masterpiece is the short romance called *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (1829), in which, through an image of the Wales of the sixth century, the author criticises his contemporary society, including the king.

Peacock’s age was that of the post Enlightenment, a period characterised for the animosity against the church. The antireligious ideas were prevalent at a time when poverty was striking the lower class in the British Isles, while the Church was still leading a luxurious life. Peacock’s text, therefore, became a pioneer in criticizing the institution. He says that the Church is only interested in getting richer, and, in an ironic commentary, he echoes the argument existing about the origin of the expression Ynys Avalon, meaning “Isle of the Apples”, and states that “the brethren of Avalon were the apples of the church” (1829: 101), while the monastery is described as “the most plump, succulent and rosy” in Britain. The abbot of Avalon himself is a plump man who drinks because his “blood runs so cold when I think of the blood-thirsty Saxons, that I take a little wine medicinally, in the hope of warming it” (1829: 104). But his satire does not end up with the criticism towards the Established Church. The trenchant parallels run further; when he condemns the contemporary political system, he does it through six-century Wales:

The science of political economy was sleeping in the womb of time. The advantage of growing rich by getting into debt and paying interest was altogether unknown (...) They had no steam engines, with fires as eternal as those of the nether-world, wherein the squalid, many, from infancy to age, might be turned into component portions of machinery for the benefit of the purple-faced few. They could neither poison the air with gas, nor the waters with its dregs: in short, they made their money of metal, and breathed pure air, and drank pure water, like unscientific barbarians. (Peacock 1829: 47-8)

This criticism continues some lines below, this time addressed at the prevailing class: “Still they went to work politically much as we do. The powerful took all they could

from their subjects and neighbours; and called something or other sacred or glorious when they wanted people to fight for them." (Peacock 1829: 48) He even allegorically identified "Seithenyn's rotten damn with the English constitution." (Lacy 1996: 354) Even though Peacock's work was overshadowed by Lord Tennyson's, his views on religion, his criticism of the present through the past, and his irony make of him a more modern author than the Poet Laureate.

Although modern Arthuriana still follows many of the patterns laid out in the Middle Ages, there are also some interesting changes. Arthur, modelled upon the Norman kingship by Geoffrey and upon King Henry V by Malory, is a warm sympathetic character in modern texts. He is not presented as an overall sovereign, who embarks on wars against Rome. Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Lantern Bearers* (1959) shows a human Arthur: "That was always the way with young Artos; a horse or a hound or a man in pain or trouble, and Artos seemed to feel the ache of it in his own belly." (2000: 161)

One of the most interesting modern views on Arthur and Arthuriana is the trilogy written by Bernard Cornwell with the title *The Warlord Chronicles*, formed with *The Winter King* (1996), *Enemy of God* (1997) and *Excalibur* (1988). Arthur is again a sympathetic character who, expressed in a modern way, wants the state of welfare for his people. He is lord (not king) over Dumnonia, whose laws he revises; he also helps to improve the crops, and reinforces the security of the kingdom. He is not the powerful king of medieval texts and by no means wants to be one. Unlike the Arthur of Wace and Layamon, whose wounds in battle would be enough to kill any other man, Cornwell's Arthur suffers from a severe cold which prevents him from attending the funeral of a close friend and ally, King Tewdric of Gwent.

We cannot ignore that the authors of modern Arthuriana still have an agenda, but it is not religious. Indeed, it can be considered antireligious, or, more precisely, anti-extremist. The trilogy spins around four religious creeds (Christianity, the cults of Mithras and Isis and the native British Pagan religion) which will provoke the final upheaval. The most displeasing characters of the trilogy are consequently placed at one end of the religious extremism. An example will suffice to understand Cornwell's message: only five Christian characters are positively described. Of those five, three of them also worship other gods, and only two can be considered "truly Christian". The rest of them are negatively described, with the main emphasis on Bishop Sansum and King Meurig, King Tewdric's son. Christians are criticised for their ambition, eagerness, and zeal to become richer and more powerful, something in common with Peacock's points of view. The best example of this is Sansum, who becomes one of the most influential members of the Council of Dumnonia, Arthur's kingdom, after his marriage to Morgan. The key point here is that Sansum is clearly homosexual, so this is not a marriage for love, but for power. Indeed, "neither sought the pleasure of each other's flesh" (Cornwell 1998: 378). Sansum is unscrupulous and he has no doubts to change sides, even with non-Christian kings, in order to do well in politics. It is interesting that, unlike the religiously monolithic texts of the Middle Ages, modern literature is a kaleidoscope of beliefs. This can be attributed to two main influences: the secularisation of Western society, as hinted at by Thompson (2002: 101-104), and the new light shed on the Dark Ages by modern research, firstly pioneered by Morris (1973), who stated that

conversion to Christianity did not mean that the convert ceased to be a pagan. As among many modern peoples, the same mind could accommodate several different religions at the same time; the Church Fathers might proclaim that “the same mouth cannot praise Christ and Jupiter”, but the poet Ausonius, consul and prefect, gave them the lie by composing hymns to Christ and also to Jupiter; and for centuries church councils found it necessary to disapprove of families who attended mass on Sunday morning, and sacrificed to their household gods on Sunday afternoon. (Morris 1998: 27)

Other contemporary historians, like de la Bédoyère (2006), confirm that many believers did not fully understand the exclusivity in Christian worship, as opposed to other beliefs, and the “fact was ignored by some who happily added Christ to their list of favoured deities.” (de la Bédoyère 2006: 230)

The native British pagan religion is not so severely attacked, except for one of its followers, druidess Nimue. Her aim is to damage Christian religion, which is gaining ground in Britain. Firstly, she uses the same speech that Gildas used in his diatribe against the kings of his age, but turning it upside down and concluding by saying that the British “will be abandoned by the Gods and left to the brutes. And those fools in there (...) will ruin that chance unless we fight them. And there are so many of them and so few of us” (Cornwell 1996: 57). Secondly, she puts words into action and tries to restore the old gods back to the British Isles in a bloody ceremony in which she kills Prince Gawain and is about to kill Arthur’s son. Merlin refuses to perform the sacrifice and, accordingly, she will kill him later in the trilogy. Human sacrifices have not been performed in the Celtic society for hundreds of years, with the exception of two possible sacrifices in the second century in the British Isles, but some scholars think that this is more probably the case of a ritual murder or a thanksgiving offer to the gods after a battle (Green 2005). However, Cornwell makes an anachronistic use of human sacrifice (not only of Gawain or Merlin, but also of a Saxon prisoner called Wlenca, whose death is interpreted by Morgan as an omen for Mordred’s reign) to condemn the unnecessary deaths of innocents in the name of different faiths.

The end of *The Warlord Chronicles* clearly exemplifies the two points we have just stated. It begins the way any aficionado of Arthuriana knows: the fated Battle of Camlann, in which Arthur kills Mordred and the latter wounds his father mortally (in the trilogy, his uncle). However, there is an interesting twist: the Christians, led by Sansum and king Meurig, are hidden while the battle is going on, letting the parties do away with each other. When Arthur is taken on the barge which leads him to Avalon, the Christians get into the battlefield and overpower Mordred’s and Arthur’s remaining men. At the same time, Nimue, who goes to the battlefield in order to recover Excalibur, sees how the sword sinks forever in the sea, symbolizing the final triumph of Christianity, led by two destructive and despicable characters, in a hopeless battle which none of the parties was supposed to win, only Christianity with beguiling tactics. Cornwell’s personal experience with fanaticism in religion is in the background of the trilogy. Shortly after being born, he was adopted by a family who belonged to a sect called *Peculiar People*, nowadays extinct. The followers of this sect took Puritan ideas to extremes. Therefore, Cornwell grew up attracted by all that the sect forbade. It was

maybe all these prohibitions which induced him to study and complete a degree in Theology, which ultimately helped him to extricate himself from the sect. Besides, as Thompson has explained, religious zeal, which is the core of Cornwell's text and of many other modern novels, "seeks to subject people to the will of someone else, and it continues tearing apart communities throughout the world." (Thompson 2002: 102)

There is more about the way in which Cornwell has reshaped some of the most common motifs in his trilogy, such as the importance of the feminine characters, very actively engaged in the plot, if compared to the passive women who populated Middle Ages Arthuriana. More interesting is the fact that the four most important female characters are linked to the different religions in the trilogy. The most fascinating change is that of Morgan, who begins as a druidess and later becomes a staunch defender of the Christian faith, foretelling the final triumph of the belief. It must be highlighted that, in sharp contrast to their medieval counterparts, these central feminine characters are the active engine for the story to develop.

To conclude, we can say that religion has been one of the most important factors in the growth of Arthurian literature and probably its more outstanding propaganda exercise. From the first texts, deeply religious because of the author's upbringing, or the historical period, dominated by the Crusades, religion projects over, and entangles with politics. Arthur is a Christian and his acts are performed according to the Church, while other characters, such as Morgan, are condemned because of their devilish acts. Modern Arthurian literature takes on religion, but in order to point at its main shortcomings, the ambition of the Churchmen and their zeal. The latest texts, such as Cornwell's trilogy, focus on the extremism of the different faiths and all the useless wars for stupid reasons. There are also some other changes: in a society in which women have a more specific importance, Morgan and their female friends become the centre of the Arthurian world. Bearing all this in mind, there are reasons to think that Arthuriana will continue changing and adapting to times, fascinating the once and future audiences.

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## SUMMARY

### CHANGING MOTIFS IN ARTHURIAN LITERATURE: TOWARDS A NEW ROUND TABLE

The latest Arthurian Literature is changing the ideas we had about its characters, motifs and main important adventures and chapters.

Old topics and characters, long-forgotten since the medieval tradition, are back in the Arthurian universe. More important, there is a new view on religion, contemptuous at times, a different reshaping of characters, and a new perspective of what we could consider Arthurian minorities.

This article analyses some of these changes as represented in some of the most representative texts in modern Arthuriana and studies them from a historical, cultural and comparative perspective.

**KEYWORDS:** Early Arthurian literature, modern Arthurian literature, religion, propaganda, Bernard Cornwell.

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## ■ THE AFFLICTED SPIRITS HERE IN THE PRISON: RELIGIOUS ALLEGORY IN *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

### 1. HERE COMES A MAN OF COMFORT: *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* AS CHRISTIAN ALLEGORY

Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* has long confounded the critics. Part of the reason may be found in G. Wilson Knight's assertion that, as "the play tends towards allegory or symbolism", Shakespeare "elects to risk a certain stiffness, or arbitrariness, in the directing of his plot rather than fail to express dramatically, with variety and precision, the full content of his basic thought." Knight is quick to add that "the religious coloring is orthodox." (Stead/Dyson 1971: 91-92) While the text offers numerous and undeniable Biblical allusions confirming these claims, it also makes them appear highly problematic at times.

The Duke has consistently been identified with God or Christ, even by critics disagreeing with an allegorical interpretation of the play, while the other characters do not seem to be quite as clearly defined, though Isabella has sometimes been associated with Man's Soul or the Church, and Lucio with Satan. (Barton 1997: 579) Establishing the God-Duke parallel, Nevill Coghill points out that Duke Vincentio "had long since ordained laws the breach of which he has never himself punished," he had "withdrawn himself into invisibility from the world of which he is the lord, but remains as it were omnipresent and omniscient, in the guise of a priest, seeking to draw good out of evil," and he reappears "in righteousness, majesty and judgment in the last scene." (Coghill 1955: 21) As he returns to judge, after having himself been accused of sins not his, his people come to meet him at the city gates, which are often mentioned in the Gospel parables of the Second Coming.

The fact that the Duke has to endure Lucio's slander is, surprisingly, the least dramatic instance of the substitutionary atonement motif, which is pervasive, if highly problematicized, throughout the play. Isabel explicitly introduces it while pleading for her brother's life to Angelo: 'Why, all the souls that were forfeit once, / And He that might the vantage best have took / Found out the remedy.' (II.ii.73-75) This brings about 'Angelo's proposed atonement of Claudio to the law through the vicarious suffering and 'death' of one of Christ's brides.' (Cole 1965: 443) In the notorious bed-trick stratagem, Mariana is to 'suffer' to spare Isabel. When this plot fails to save Claudio, Barnardine is

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proposed to die in his stead. Finally, Ragozine's head is substituted for Claudio's in order to deceive Angelo. This constitutes a bewildering and amusing game of salvation, in which no one is forced to participate, no one is really seriously hurt, and everybody seems to have learned a valuable lesson.

Isabel, by marrying the Duke, personifies both the traditional image of the Church as Christ's Bride, and an individual soul's final union with its Creator. The Duke's proposal is reminiscent of the father's retort to the good son who has judged the prodigal son in the Gospel parable: 'What's mine is yours, and what is yours is mine' (V.i.537) Angelo, on the other hand, is the prodigal son, who is eventually pardoned and reinstated. Lucio, a.k.a. Satan, lures Isabel out of the convent, introduces temptation by entreating her to touch Angelo, performs his role of the arch-accuser when he informs on Mrs. Overdone, and slanders the Duke while possibly recognizing him, much like the demons in the Gospels. Like the demons, he is the only one the Duke 'cannot pardon.' (V.i.499) Though his final sentence appears to be far less harsh than eternal damnation, it is apparently more than sufficient. In his own words, 'Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging.' (V.i.522-523)

Mariana, with the unearthly moated grange as her abode, and her particular closeness to the Duke, may have a heavenly role to play. Her defining attribute is mercy, as opposed to 'precise' morality and justice: 'As Angelo has put the letter of the old law into effect, so Mariana sets the letter of forgiveness in act.' (Black 1972: 124) By asking for judgment to be tempered with mercy and pleading for the sinners, she fulfills the traditional role of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Isabel can be seen as the other, virginal, 'half' of Mary, as is indicated by Lucio's 'Hail, virgin, if you be, as those cheek-roses / Proclaim you are no less!' (I.iv.16-17)

## 2. THE DUKE OF DARK CORNERS: SOME PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE 'CHRISTIAN ALLEGORY' INTERPRETATION

This neatly delineated allegorical reading of *Measure for Measure* has many critics. The very notion of an allegorical interpretation of the play is most commonly discarded mainly because of imperfections and inconsistencies perceived in Duke Vincentio's character, rendering him unfit for the role of the Almighty. He is "generally censured for being shifty and untruthful and for violating law and religious observance" (Lawrence 1969: 25) by hearing confessions in the guise of a priest, for his "seemingly motiveless malingering," (Cole 1965: 428) and for the observation that he "hurts people and treats them as if they were inhuman cogs to be manipulated." (Gelb 1971: 29) C. K. Stead offers a long litany of accusatory questions. (Stead/Dyson 16-17)

The Duke's outrageous mercy has had its critics as well. Coleridge felt that the pardon of Angelo "baffles the strong indignant claim of justice," (Stead/Dyson 1971: 45) and C. K. Stead insists that "we do not all err as Angelo errs," (Stead/Dyson 1971: 20) so he should therefore receive no understanding or compassion from us. The pardon of Angelo appears to have been devised to provoke just such sentiment – if we judge Angelo for judging and cannot forgive him for not forgiving another for the very sin he is guilty of, the joke is on us. Shakespeare might have had this verse in mind: 'And



thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?' (KJV, Romans 2: 3-4)

In his dealings with his subjects, the Duke has been seen as too controlling and manipulative, or as failing to prevent evil and hurtful actions of others, or as simply utterly ineffective, so that the other characters are able to "force upon him a series of hasty rearrangements and patchings." (Barton 1997: 581) Interestingly enough, rather than repudiate it, these accusations seem to confirm the allegorical association between God and the Duke. God is also commonly charged with allowing humans either too much or too little free will; being either too manipulative and controlling, or guilty of tolerating evil. It may be noted that, like the Duke, God does not impose His will on man, He is able to change His mind, improvise and elicit man's willing cooperation in salvation, and thus create synergy between the divine and the human wills.

Isabel, who marries the God-Duke, thus earning the privilege to be seen as the exemplary human, is far from being universally popular for her uncompromising virtue. While it has been clarified that "a Jacobean audience took for granted that there can be no compromise with evil," (Stead/Dyson 1971: 69) as is demonstrated by the failure of the bed-trick to actually save Claudio from Angelo's sentence, many are disturbed by Isabel's "rigid chastity," (Stead/Dyson 1971: 47) "distressing lack of warmth," and "self-centered saintliness." (Stead/Dyson 1971: 114-115) Isabel is, in fact, quite ambiguously portrayed, allowing the critics to take a surprising range of positions on her character: Howard C. Cole, for instance, contends that Shakespeare is "at least critical if not wholly unsympathetic to his icy maiden," (Cole 1965: 438) whereas George L. Geckle insists that he "takes great pains [...] to present her in a favorable light." (Geckle 1971: 167) This ambivalence stems from deep problems within the world of the play.

### 3. THE AFFLICTED SPIRITS HERE IN THE PRISON: THE 'ORTHODOXY' OF THE WORLDVIEW IN *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

The existence of an allegorical element in *Measure for Measure* is undeniable on a level, even though it poses more questions than it provides answers for, quite unlike the morality plays of old. However, how 'orthodox' is it really? By examining the real laws of the world existing within the play, it is possible to uncover in it certain elements of creeds other than mainstream Christianity, introduced into the intellectual atmosphere of Elizabethan England by way of Occult Neoplatonism. (Yates 2003)

The mentioned ambivalence surrounding Isabel's character stems from a chasm at the core of the world within the play. I will attempt to demonstrate that this world is fundamentally dualistic – Manichean or Gnostic – and not truly Christian, and that this is reflected most compellingly in the attitudes the play reveals, both in its characters and recipients, towards sexuality and the female gender.

The very setting is telling. The action seems to spiral downwards from the Duke's heavenly palace to the dark prison-world, much like, according to Gnostic cosmogony, emanations of decreasing similarity to the One Uncreated Light finally resulted in the evil material world where souls are imprisoned. Save for the short reprieve of the unearthly 'moated grange' scene, the prison is where the rest of the action takes place. The prison's



constant inhabitant, Barnardine, is the Gnostic Everyman. A stranger to this world – ‘A Bohemian born, but here nurs’d up and bred’ (IV.ii.30-31) – he seems to have forgotten his true homeland and everything outside his narrow prison-world. Blind and oblivious to the true reality of the external world, though bound only by his own ignorance and intoxication with the world of matter, he does not even attempt to seek freedom: ‘He hath evermore had the liberty of the prison; give him leave to escape hence, he would not. Drunk many times a day, if not many days entirely drunk.’ (IV.ii.147-150) He rages and swears at those coming to awaken him and remind him of his mortality.

The Duke’s announcement that he comes ‘to visit the afflicted spirits / Here in the prison’ (II.iii.5-6) has a definite Gnostic ring to it. The Christian Christ does arrive clothed in flesh to save humanity, but the Duke’s sojourn in the prison precisely fits the Gnostic / Manichean image of Christ descending to teach and spiritually liberate the imprisoned souls. Vincentio does not seem to suffer much in the world, which is in keeping with the docetism of Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

Another notion not truly in line with any orthodox Christian teaching is that of God leaving the world to another’s rule. Angelo, as the ‘demigod authority,’ can and does stand for mankind and secular authority, as opposed to God’s justice. However, Isabel’s tirade on ‘man, proud man, / Dress’d in a little brief authority’ (II.ii.117-118) also closely resembles patristic readings of the Old Testament to find explanations for the existence of demons. In order to prove that the fall of angels was caused by their pride, Tertullian quotes Ezekiel 28: 2: ‘Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God.’ (KJV, Ezekiel 28: 2) Augustine draws the same conclusion, only quoting Isaiah 14: ‘How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God.’ (KJV, Isaiah 14: 12-13) The quotes in question also clearly mention men, not angels, but are taken to symbolize the angels who fell from Heaven. Similarly, Angelo in his proud authority, and in his fall, can be taken to represent both man and angel, towards which his name would additionally seem to point, though also denoting his seemingly immaterial human nature. The rumor that ‘this Angelo was not made by man and woman after this downright way of creation’ (III.ii.104-105) is another possible indication of this.

Angelo, cast in the role of the real deity’s deputy, whether he be demigod or demiurge, the Gnostic temporary lord of the temporary prison world, or the Marcionite evil god upholding the cruel letter of the old law, has a demonic, not angelic, part to play. This is also reminiscent of the view held by St. Gregory of Nyssa, which has not been accepted as valid, that Satan was the angel originally given rule over the material world, whose fall was caused by his subsequent rebellion. Angelo’s demonic status may be partly indicated in the text with ‘Let’s write “good angel” on the devil’s horn, / ‘Tis not the devil’s crest’ (II.iv.15-17) and ‘This outward-sainted deputy [...] is yet a devil.’ (III.i.88, 91) The notion of angels succumbing to sexual temptation can be found in the apocryphal Book of Enoch, as well as easily read into Genesis 2, where ‘the sons of God’ are described as becoming very intimate indeed with ‘the daughters of man.’ According to Justin Martyr, Satan’s final fall is caused by his seduction of Eve, just as Angelo’s fall is caused by his attempted seduction of Isabel.

#### 4. "BE THAT YOU ARE, THAT IS A WOMAN": WOMANHOOD AND WORLDLINESS

The dilemma put before Isabel creates an artificial chasm between the virtues of charity and chastity, whose consequent precarious balance is one of the main questions the play poses. In Shakespeare's sources, the felon's wife yields but is still considered "chaste." (Barton 1997: 580) Shakespeare chooses to split the one woman, and in effect, womanhood as well, into Mariana and Isabel, or into adherents of charity or chastity. Together they form a complete, virtuous woman, apparently otherwise an impossibility in the world of *Measure for Measure*. The image of Mariana and Isabel meeting at the moated grange is juxtaposed to that of the offenders against charity and chastity, Barnardine the murderer and Claudio the fornicator, waiting in prison for their executions. Charity and chastity are radically opposed and fully exclude one another in the play. Chaste Isabel is capable of uttering 'More than our brother is our chastity,' (II.iv.185) while we find that it is Mrs. Overdone, 'a bawd of eleven years' continuance,' (III.ii.196) who lovingly takes care of Kate Keepdown's illegitimate child by Lucio.

Similarly, the spiritual and the carnal are radically opposed, and always present only in their extremes. As Harriett Hawkins rightly observes, "the borderline between angelic and demonic extremes of virtue and vice" is "a very narrow one, and all too easy to cross" (Hawkins 1978: 109) in the dualistic world of *Measure for Measure*. Thus far almost incorporeal, the Puritan Angelo is, at the first stirrings of bodily desire, driven "to embrace the basest of urges [...], since he believes that his prurient interest in Isabella indicates a complete depravity." (Holloway 1998: 3) Or, in Ted Hughes' terms, 'behind Angelo's face, Adonis has become Tarquin,' (Hughes 1992: 171) going from one extreme to the other in a matter of seconds. There does not seem to be a middle way.

Charity and chastity, the physical and the spiritual, are artificially separated to such an extent that a woman in this world can either be a whore or a nun. There are no wives in the entire play. Humankind in general and womankind in particular are split along these lines and a form of double vision is maintained throughout the play.

On the one hand, a Puritanical, Manichean hatred towards flesh as innately evil is displayed by several characters and masqueraded as true Christian religiosity; on the other hand, a subversive undercurrent makes certain our sympathies will side with fertility and motherhood, pitted against and starkly contrasted with sexual purity. Filial, motherly and 'conjugal' love, kindness, fertility and extramarital sex all belong to the same paradigm. The prostitute Kate Keepdown's illegitimate child is in the prostitute Mrs. Overdone's motherly care. Juliet's premarital pregnancy is announced to Isabel by the Satanically subversive Lucio in positive images of love and fertility:

Your brother and his lover have embrac'd.  
As those that feed grow full, as blossoming time  
That from the seedness the bare fallow brings  
To teeming foison, even so her plenteous womb  
Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry. (I.iv.40-44)

Sarah C. Velz, interpreting the play in terms of the Gospel parable of the seeds, finds that the "good ground", those bearing spiritual fruit, relates to Juliet's pregnancy and Mariana's love (Velz 1972: 37-39). The "good ground" is thus equated with physical fertility and physical love, and mainly embodied in Claudio and Juliet.

The other paradigm, consisting of 'precise,' cold, sterile, legalism, and a Puritanical mistrust of the flesh, appears to be opposed to love and life itself. It is interesting to note that Claudio is sentenced to death not for fornication, but 'for getting Madam Julietta with child,' (I.ii.72-73) and Isabel tellingly claims 'I had rather my brother die by the law than my son should be unlawfully born.' (III.i.189-191) Sympathy is readily aroused for Claudio and Juliet as they appear to be judged over a mere technicality. They could have, however, probably organized a secret church wedding, like Romeo and Juliet, with more ease and less publicity than the exchange of vows they did have. This would fail, however, to make the necessary point of their being the loving, fertile, but fornicating couple, destructive to the cold, restrictive, Puritan world of Angelo.

Womanhood in particular is associated with this threat of fertility, sexuality, and carnality. Angelo, when persuading Isabel to yield to him, urges her to 'Be that you are, / That is a woman,' (II.iv.134-135) suggesting that wantonness is merely female nature. The serpentine temptress Eve must be bridled for the world of cold, dry, masculine Puritanism to survive. An aspect of this necessary repression is the nunnery's regulations concerning interactions with men: 'When you have vow'd, you must not speak with men / But in the presence of the prioress; / Then if you speak, you must not show your face, / Or if you show your face, you must not speak.' (I.iv.10-13) Michael D. Friedman argues that because "these limitations apply only when a sister speaks with men, we may assume that they are designed to prevent the arousal of male sexual desire, which presumably occurs when women speak and display their beauty at the same time." (Friedman 1996: 4) The regulations signify more than this, however. They diminish the threat of women, as does the entire play, in a way, by artificially splitting them into mind and body, spirit and flesh, nuns and whores, and forbidding them to be both at once. It should also be noted that Isabel is advised by the Duke to demand 'all shadow and silence' (III.i.247) for their purported encounter; a woman cannot be both spirit and flesh, but she apparently can be neither.

There seems to be no room in the play for the truly orthodox Christian view of a fundamentally good world, though corrupted by the Fall, in which sexuality is innately good, but to be contained within marriage, and, like all other passions, to be controlled, not fully stifled or freed. When Claudio is asked 'whence comes this restraint?,' he rightfully answers 'From too much liberty.' (I.ii.124-125) In *Measure for Measure*, it is apparently impossible to find the right measure between liberty and restraint. There is no mention whatsoever of sexuality within marriage, and no children are conceived within wedlock in the entire play.

These unresolved dualities appear to be artificially united in the timelessness following the Duke's return and Judgment Day. The 'solution' comes in the shape of the impending multiple wedding, forming the first marriages in the play. Vincentio has thus far been known both as the reputedly lecherous Duke of Dark Corners who 'would eat mutton on Fridays,' (III.ii.181-182) and in his ascetic guise of a friar, boasting to Friar Thomas: 'Believe not that the dribbling dart of love / Can pierce a complete bosom.'

(I.iii.2-3) The God-figure has thus also been split into the dual extremes of his torn world. His final marriage to Isabel might indicate a much needed 'middle' way, perhaps possible only after time has ended.

An allegorical analysis of *Measure for Measure* going beyond the usual orthodox Christian interpretations reveals a dualism in the world of the play as the root of its commonly perceived problems. The chasm between body and spirit leads to a chasm between the virtues of charity and chastity and thus to Isabella's crucial but fundamentally insoluble dilemma. This may lead towards an enhanced understanding of Shakespeare's play.

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## SUMMARY

### THE AFFLICTED SPIRITS HERE IN THE PRISON: RELIGIOUS ALLEGORY IN *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

Religious allegory in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* is explored and found to contain dualistic elements, primarily perceptible in the attitudes expressed towards sexuality and womanhood.

**KEYWORDS:** *Measure for Measure*, religious allegory, dualism, woman.

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## ■ SUPRUGE – SAUČESNICE ILI ŽRTVE? KARAKTERIZACIJA ŽENSKIH LIKOVA U *OTELU*

*Godina, dve, ne pokažu nam muža.*

*Svi su oni samo želuci, a mi*

*Samo hrana; alapljivo nas jedu,*

*A kad se zasite, oni nas povrate.*

(Emilija, *Otelo*, 3.4. 105-108)

U Šekspirovoj biografiji, *Vil iz Stratforda: Kako je Šekspir postao Šekspir*<sup>2</sup>, Stiven Grinblat (Grinblat 2004: 126), kritičar koji pripada novom istorizmu, kaže da je vrlo neobično što se Šekspir, kao „vrhunski pesnik udvaranja i veliki pesnik porodice, s posebno naglašenim interesovanjem za ubilačko rivalstvo među braćom i za složenost odnosa između očeva i kćeri ...uzdržavao od opisivanja onoga šta to, u stvari, znači biti u braku.“ Grinblat tvrdi da je Šekspir, zahvaljujući tome što je on sam imao nesrećan brak i zbog toga proveo najveći deo života razdvojen od supruge, imao jedno suštinski pesimistično viđenje braka, koje se u dramama sreće u različitim vidovima, u zavisnosti od dramskog žanra (Grinblat 2004: 126). Činjenica je da u njegovim delima ima vrlo mali supružnika koji su ostvarili bračnu prisnost i partnerstvo u današnjem smislu te reči. Ima bračnih parova koji su došli do tačke uzajamnog prezira i mržnje, kao Olbeni i Gonerila u *Kralju Liru*. Ali u većini slučajeva ti odnosi su suptilnija, složenija stanja otuđenosti. Uglavnom su osećanja žena zapostavljena i ne iskazuju se. (Grinblat 2004: 127). Prema Grinblatu, „postoje dva značajna izuzetka od Šekspirove nevoljnosti ili nesposobnosti da zamisli jedan bračni par koji je ostvario trajnu bliskost, ali su oni nekako obeshrabrujuće čudni: to su Gertruda i Kladije u *Hamletu*, i Makbetovi. Ovi brakovi su čvrsti i moćni, svaki na svoj način, ali i uznemirujući kada se pogleda njihova istinska prisnost.“ (2004: 137). Kod Gertrude i Kladije, ta prisnost je ostvarena zahvaljujući uzajamnoj seksualnoj privlačnosti; kod Makbetovih, zahvaljujući zajedničkoj ambiciji i saučesništvu u zlodelu. Grinblat zaključuje da se kod Šekspira „s jedne strane može naći nekakvo sveprisutno i skromno opisivanje braka, a sa druge, slika jedne noćne more od braka kakvim su prikazana ova dva u koje je uložio više truda.“ (Grinblat 2004: 140). Grinblat smatra da je Šekspir, stvarajući *Hamleta*, *Makbeta* i *Otela*, želeo da pokaže koliko bračna prisnost može da bude opasna, štaviše da je opasna i sama želja za njom (2004: 141).

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Svakako, treba imati na umu istorijski period u kome je Šekspir živeo i stvarao. Za razliku od današnjeg poimanja braka, koji podrazumeva (navodno) partnerstvo i dugovečnu ljubav, brak je u elizabetinskom dobu imao drugačiji značaj. Pre svega, žene su imale vrlo malu, najčešće nikakvu mogućnost da upravljaju sopstvenim životom. Roditelji (zapravo otac) neudate žene donosili su sve ključne odluke u njenom životu; posle udaje tu ulogu preuzimao je muž. Brak je bio stvar razuma, a ne osećanja. To je bio opšteprihvaćeni način da se izbegne greh – bludničenje, kao i da se steknu naslednici i prenese imovina.

Bilo je sasvim razumno nadati se da će vam brak biti stabilan i da će vam prijati, ali ne i više od toga. A ako ne biste našli ono što ste želeli, ako bi odnosi počeli da se pogoršavaju i prelaze u mučnu ogorčenost, nije postojao način da se brak okonča i da se počne iznova. Razvod braka nije postojao za ljude iz Šekspirove klase, a ni za ostale. (Grinblat 2004: 129)

Šekspirove četiri velike tragedije imaju zajedničku karakteristiku da se bave ispitivanjem porodičnih i bračnih veza i da se bave emocijama koje se javljaju u zrelijim godinama životnog ciklusa: *Hamlet* govori o pronalaženju sopstvenog identiteta i pravca delovanja; *Otelo* se bavi seksualnom ljubomorom u braku; *Kralj Lir* govori o starenju i sukobu generacija, dok *Makbet* istražuje snagu ambicije i potrebe za samorealizacijom. Protagonisti svih velikih tragedija su muškarci; zapravo, one „redom predstavljaju socijalne i biološke uloge muškarca: *Hamlet* je zaokupljen konfliktnim sinovlijim identitetom, *Otelo* usredsređen na strašnu zabludu tragičnog ljubavnika, *Makbet* govori o dramatičnoj neravnoteži zločina i lične ambicije, dok je *Kralj Lir* tragedija o pogrešno shvaćenju ulogi oca.“ (Gordić Petković 2006: 129). Žene su u ovim tragedijama takođe predstavljene u različitim ulogama: kao kćeri, supruge, majke, ljubavnice, kao sluškinje i kraljice, kao saveznice i antagonistkinje, ali je uloga protagoniste uvek rezervisana za muške likove.

Feministička kritika osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka bavi se ispitivanjem dugotrajne istorijske podređenosti ženskog pola koja se ogleda u književnim delima, pa tako i kod Šekspira. U antologiji feminističkih tekstova *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, nudi se zaključak da se „ženski (u)deo kod Šekspira pojavljuje samo ukoliko se zanemari organsko jedinstvo teksta i ako se podređenost žena, koja se očitava u tekstu, kritičkim sredstvima suspenduje i demistifikuje.“ (Bečanović-Nikolić 2007: 366).

Feministička kritika, kao i novi istorizam, posmatra Šekspirova dela u istorijskom kontekstu, i otkriva u kojoj je meri Šekspir bio deo patrijarhalnog sveta u kome su dominirali muškarci i u kome su žene prosto bile predmet trgovinskih transakcija između muškaraca. Feministička kritika se posebno bavi tematikom porodičnih i bračnih odnosa, običaja udvaranja, sukoba polova i generacija. U svim Šekspirovim dramama mogu se prepoznati motivi vezani za osećaj nesigurnosti i inferiornosti muškaraca u odnosu na žene: preterana vezanost za majku (i Edipov kompleks, kao ekstremna manifestacija te vezanosti), strah od ženske seksualnosti, potreba da se žena poseduje i da se nad njom dominira, strah od gubljenja muškosti i snage u bilo kom vidu, strah od starenja.

Ovaj rad će pokušati da predstavi karakterizaciju likova žena kao supruga u tragediji *Otelo*. U *Otelu* je najviše prostora dato, osim transformaciji glavnog junaka iz zaljubljenog muža u ljubomornog očajnika, bračnoj vezi Otela i Dezdemone. Na početku drame, čini se da će njihova veza moći da premosti etničke, starosne, kulturne i klasne razlike; štaviše, izgleda kao da se oni međusobno nadopunjuju. Jagovi vulgarni komentari u prvoj sceni („Baš sad, ovog časa, stari ovan crn / mrči tvoje belo jagnje.“) isprva ostavljaju na čitaoca/gledaoca ružan utisak u vezi sa razlikom u godinama između Otela i Dezdemone. Međutim, taj utisak se popravlja već u trećoj sceni, kada Otelo i Dezdemona progovore o svojoj ljubavi. Otelo sažeto objašnjava:

Zavolela me je  
Zbog opasnosti kroz koje sam proš'o,  
A ja nju zato što ih sažaljeva.  
(1.3. 166-168)

Na Brabanciovu optužbu da je na neprirodan način, činima i napicima, osvojio Dezdemonu, Otelo odgovara:

Molim vas, poš'ljite do Strelca po nju,  
Pa neka o meni govori pred ocem.  
Nađete l' iz njenih reči da sam zao,  
Oduzmite mi poverenje, čin  
Koji ste mi dali, pa neka vam čak  
Presuda padne i na život moj.  
(1.3. 114-120)

Veoma su značajni Brabanciovi komentari o Dezdemoninom karakteru, putem kojih stičemo predstavu o njoj kao skromnoj i poslušnoj kćeri:

Da l' bi ta devojka nežna, lepa, srećna,  
Nesklona braku, koja se klonila  
Bogatih, otmenih mladića zemlje naše...  
(1.2. 74-76)

Zar devojka ta,  
Plašljiva, krotka, tiha duha, čija  
Želja je pred samom sobom crvenela,  
Da se uprkos prirodi, godinama,  
Ugledu, zemlji i svemu zaljubi  
U ono što je beše strah da gleda!  
(1.3. 100-104)

Na osnovu ovih reči, već smo stekli mišljenje o Dezdemoni i pre nego što smo je upoznali. Zbog toga, Dezdemona ostavlja još jači utisak kada se pojavi na sceni. Iako je dovedena u sred noći da se izjasni o svojim postupcima pred svojim ocem, duždem i



senatorima, ona nimalo ne liči na plašljivu i zbunjenu devojku. Naprotiv, ona nastupa odlučno i smelo. Na Brabanciovo pitanje:

...vidiš li ti kome  
U ovom plemenitom društvu  
Najviše duguješ poslušnost?  
(1.3. 179-181)

Dezdemona odgovara bez dvoumljenja:

Plemeniti oče,  
Svoju dužnost vidim ovde podeljenu.  
Vama sam dužna za život, vaspitanje;  
Oboje me uče kako da vas štujem:  
Dužna sam vam tol'ko kol'ko sam vam kći.  
Al' ovde je muž moj, i dužnost što mi majka  
Imaše spram vas iznad one prema  
Ocu svom, i ja je priznajem sad Mavru,  
Mome gospodaru.  
(1.3. 182-192)

Dezdemona jasno i nedvosmisleno priznaje da se tajno venčala sa Otelom. Učinila je ono što je za mladu ženu u to doba bilo gotovo nemoguće – uzela je svoj život u svoje ruke i udala se za čoveka koga je izabrala ona sama, a ne njen otac. Štaviše, iz Otelove priče možemo da zaključimo da mu je sama Dezdemona nagovestila da neće odbiti njegovu bračnu ponudu. Kada Otelu moli Dužda da Dezdemoni obezbedi smeštaj dok je on u ratnom pohodu, Dezdemona izjavljuje da neće boraviti u očevoj kući „jer ne želim / da stanujem tamo gde ću izazvati / netrpeljivost oca time što me gleda.“ (1.3. 245-247); ona smelo iznosi svoju molbu:

Da sam zavolela Mavra da bih s njim  
Živela, to smeli čin mi i primanje  
Burne sudbe mogu rastrubiti svetom.  
Srce mi potčini i poziv mog muža.  
Lik Otelov videh u njegovom duhu.  
Njegovoj časti, junaštvu posvetih  
Svoju dušu, sreću. Pa ako, velmože,  
Budem ostavljena kao moljac mira,  
A on u rat ode, biću lišena  
Onog zbog čega ga volim i moraću  
Zbog odsustva mu težak snosit bol.  
Dopustite mi da odem sa njim.  
(1.3. 252-263)

Dezdemona je u ovoj sceni već pri prvom pojavljivanju osvojila sve naše simpatije: ona je mlada, lepa, prefinjena, plemenita duha; uz to se odvažno bori za svoju ljubav i brani pravo

na svoj sopstveni izbor. U njoj ima nešto od Šekspirovih junakinja iz romantičnih komedija (Rozalinda, Viola, Beatrice) koje pokušavaju da same upravljaju svojom sudbinom. Po tome što odbija da se apsolutno pokori očevom autoritetu podseća na Kordeliju; po spremnosti da prekrši patrijarhalne norme zarad ljubavi, podseća na Juliju. Imajući sve ovo u vidu, Otelova opčinjenost njome je potpuno razumljiva. Dakle, na početku drame Dezdemona je ta koja pokreće radnju: Otelo joj se udvara i prosi je na njenu inicijativu; ona beži od kuće i venčava se s njim; zatim traži da ide s njim na Kipar. Dezdemona predstavlja stvaralačku snagu ljubavi, koja pronalazi način da ostvari ono što želi.

Međutim, u istoj ovoj sceni, počinje da deluje jedna destruktivna sila, oličena u Jagu, koja će sve ove Dezdemonine postupke preokrenuti na njenu štetu. Tokom prvog čina, Brabancio više puta, u neverici, pominje kako je neverovatna i neprirodna Dezdemonina ljubav prema Otelu. Brabanciove poslednje reči: „Motri na nju, Mavre, da slep bio ne bi; / neverna je ocu, pa možda i tebi“ i Otelov odgovor: „Moj život za njenu vernost!“ (1.3. 298-300) zloslutno odzvanjaju na kraju prvog čina, kao predskazanje buduće tragedije. Značajno je prisetiti se da je Jago prisutan tokom celog prvog čina, mada se u sceni pred Senatom ne oglašava. Ali je očito sve veoma dobro čuo, jer su Brabanciovi komentari o „neprirodnosti“ Dezdemonine ljubavi i njenoj „prevari“, upravo oni argumenti koje će upotrebiti da bi rasplamsao ljubomoru kod Otela.

U prvom činu, dakle, uverljivo je predstavljen Dezdemonin lik i snaga njene ljubavi. U skladu je s njenim karakterom i njena želja da se ne razdvaja od muža. Međutim, njen odlazak na Kipar biće fatalan i za nju i za Otela. Tokom boravka na Kipru, Dezdemona se trudi da na svaki način ugoditi Otelu i da učestvuje u njegovom životu. Kasijevu molbu da se zauzme za njega kod Otela ona vidi kao priliku da učini dobro delo i istovremeno pomogne i svom mužu. Dezdemona je mlada i zaljubljena; ona idealizuje muža i brak; puna je poverenja u ljude i misli da su svi dobri. U jednom trenutku Jago poluironično primećuje: „Ona je tako darežljiva, tako ljubazna, tako milostiva, da smatra porokom u svojoj dobroti ako ne učini više nego što je mole.“ (2.3. 317-319). Upravo će tu njenu dobrotu i naivnost Jago iskoristiti da naudi i Otelu i njoj:

Pretvoriću joj poštenje u greh,  
A od dobrote joj isplesti mrežu što će  
Sve ih uloviti.

(2.3. 352-361)

Već u sledećem činu Jago počinje da plete mrežu: on daje još jednu karakterizaciju Dezdemone, ali iz negativnog ugla. Sve njene reči i postupci, njen izgled, godine i poreklo, tumače se kao trikovi „prelukave Venecijanke“:

U Mlecima žene  
Pokazuju nebu vragolije koje  
Ne smeju odati svojim muževima.  
Njihov moral nije da se ne podaju,  
Već da to zataje.

.....  
Odbiti tol'ke prosiocce svoga

Podneblja, boje, staleža, iako  
 Priroda svemu tome teži. Pih!  
 U postupku takvom čovek nazire  
 Odvratnu pohotu, ružan nesklad neki,  
 Neprirodne misli. Al' oprostite mi,  
 Ja ne govorim izrično o njoj,  
 Mada se bojim da će njena volja,  
 Kada se vrati boljem razboru,  
 Početi da vas poredi sa njenim  
 Zemljacima, i kajati se možda.

(3.3. 102-240)

Od ove scene pa nadalje, prisustvujemo Otelovoj transformaciji iz dostojanstvenog ratnika u bolesno ljubomornog očajnika i na kraju ubicu. Otelo je i ranije bio svestan velikih razlika između Dezdemone i sebe u godinama, izgledu, rasi, poreklu, socijalnom statusu; sve su to bile Dezdemonine prednosti, a sada postaju njeni gresi. Kao stranac u svom kulturnom okruženju, Otelo je puno poverenje poklonio braku kao obećanju potpune civilizacijske integracije. Ali on se i dalje oseća kao stranac, prihvaćen iz nužde, plaćenik u službi Mletačke republike. Iako je dobio ženu Venecijanku, nije se oslobodio nepoverenja i straha. Čim poveruje da ga je žena izdala, doživljava moralni i psihološki slom, koji se artikuliše kroz nasilje prema ženi. (Gordić Petković 2006: 129).

Koliko je Dezdemona pre udaje bila preduzimljiva i odlučna, toliko je sada u braku poslušna i pokorna: „Radi sve što hoćeš; / ma šta to bilo, ja ću slušati.“ (3.3. 87-88). Zaista, ona ostaje poslušna sve do svoje smrti od Otelove ruke, ne shvatajući do samog kraja razmere njegove ljubomore. U Otelovim očima svi njeni postupci i reči postaju dokazi „imaginarnе ženske krivice“: njeno zauzimanje za Kasija, nestanak maramice, pa i njeno strpljivo podnošenje Otelovih uvreda. Dezdemona je doživela „da se njena žrtva preobrati u dokaz krivice ... napuštanje očinskog doma i domovine zarad ljubavi postaje žig imaginarnе krivice.“ (Gordić Petković 2006: 133). U Šekspirovim dramama svih žanrova često je prisutan motiv dokaza.

Test vernosti i postojanosti obično se nameće junakinjama, koje su isto tako stalna meta klevete i nepravednih optužbi. Očevidni dokaz nevernosti prisutan je u *Otelu*, u komediji *Mnogo vike ni oko čega*, takođe i u poznoj romansi *Simbelin*: Dezdemonina maramica, inscenirano udvaranje na mesečini priređeno za Klaudijeve oči i Imogenin prsten sve su argumenti koji treba da uvere ljubomorne i nepoverljive muškarce da je njihova sumnja bila opravdana. Sve su to varijacije Šekspirovog stalnog motiva *kvantifikacije ljubavi*: duboko ukorenjena zabluda da se ljubav može egzaktno pokazati, dokazati i izmeriti stalno se iznova mora razvejavati u komedijama i uspostavljati kao bolna lekcija u tragedijama. (Gordić Petković 2006: 135).

S druge strane, za muškarce je dovoljno da se zakunu da vole i da su verni; od žena se traži i očigledan dokaz. „U patrijarhalnom poretku, ženinim rečima se ne veruje, dok se njeno nemoćno ćutanje tumači kao nedostatak emocija. ...Dokaz njenog integriteta je smrt, a smrt je i mera njene lojalnosti. Smrt je postupak *revirginizacije*: žena prestaje da

bude seksualno biće čija je želja nespoznatljiva i van kontrole muškarca, smrt ukida grešnu seksualnost njenog tela". (Gordić Petković 2006: 135). U jednom monologu Otelu uzvikuje: „Prokletstvo braka, kad možemo zvati / svojima ta nežna bića, / ali ne i njihove prohteve!“ (3.3. 268-270). Iz tih razloga je Dezdemona žrtvovana, jer samo smrt potvrđuje njenu odanost. Možda i sama Dezdemona postaje svesna toga pred smrt. Otelova ljubomora je do te mere zatrovala njihov brak, da bi, čak i da je uspela da dokaže svoju nevinost, za Dezdemonu bilo nemoguće da i dalje ostane u toj zajednici. Dakle, jedini izlaz za nju je smrt.

Zapravo, jedna stvarna greška koja Dezdemoni može da se pripiše je da je sve što je imala – porodicu, dom, društveni položaj, lepotu, bogatstvo – poklonila čoveku koji toga nije bio vredan; sve je stavila na jednu kartu – i sve izgubila. Druga njena greška je preveliko poverenje u ljude, koje se graniči sa naivnošću, kao i idealizovanje braka i muža. Dezdemona do samog kraja brani Otela, njegove promene raspoloženja tumači brigama oko državnih poslova, uporno odbija da prizna ono što je očigledno – da je Otelu ljubomorani. Posle jednog Otelovog ljubomornog ispada, Emilija uzvikuje (izražavajući u velikoj meri i osećanja čitaoca / gledaoca): „Volela bih / da ga nikad niste videli!“, a Dezdemona odgovara: „Ja ne; toliko ga volim da za mene / i surovost mu, gnev i namrštenost ... imaju neku draž.“ (4.3. 18-21). Kada, konačno, suočena sa Otelovom ubilačkom ljubomorom, shvati da je njen voljeni muž u stanju da je ubije, Dezdemonin svet se ruši i ostaje joj jedino smrt. U tom smislu, značajne su njene poslednje reči. Na Emilijino pitanje ko ju je ubio, Dezdemona odgovara: „Niko. Ja sama.“ (5.2. 130). Dezdemona shvata svoje greške i da je i ona sama svojim postupcima doprinela svom tragičnom kraju. I pored toga, Dezdemona je glavna žrtva u tragediji.

Druga supruga koja strada u ovoj tragediji, Emilija, istovremeno je i saučesnik, i to u mnogo praktičnijem smislu u odnosu na Dezdemonu. Emilija pribavlja konačni „dokaz“ Dezdemonine nevere: uzima maramicu koju je Dezdemona ispustila i daje je Jagu. Ona ne zna zbog čega Jago uporno traži od nje da dođe do te maramice; ona to čini kao poslušna žena: „Šta će on sa njom / neka Bog sveti znade! / Ali ja činim to da mu zadovoljim čud.“ (3.3. 297-299). Iako Emilija ovo čini iz neznanja, njen postupak će zapečatiti Dezdemoninu sudbinu, a i sama će pasti kao žrtva Jagove zavere. Emilijin lik je često zanemaren u odnosu na likove Dezdemone, Otela i Jaga, ali, iako sporedan, on ipak igra ključnu ulogu za dramski zaplet. Emilija obezbeđuje „dokaz“ Dezdemonine nevere, a s druge strane, ona je ta koja će obelodaniti Jagovu zavere.

U drami postoji suviše malo dijaloga između Jaga i Emilije da bi sa sigurnošću mogli izvesti zaključak kakav je njihov odnos. Da li se vole, mrze, ili samo podnose? Neku predstavu o tome možemo steći ako obratimo pažnju na njihove reči upućene drugim likovima. U drugom činu, Jago daje kratku karakterizaciju žena uopšte (pa samim tim i svoje žene) rečima pravog ženomrca:

Hajde, čuti; sve ste vi slike van kuće,  
 Čegrtaljke u salonu, divlje mačke  
 U kujni, k'o svetice onda kad ste zlobne,  
 Đavolice kad ste uvređene;  
 U domaćinstvu igrate se svom,  
 A domaćice ste u svojoj postelji.

(2.1. 113-117)

Da li Jago ovako govori o ženama na osnovu sopstvenog iskustva? Bez sumnje, Emilija je prikazana kao žena od krvi i mesa, a ne kao anđeo: za razliku od Dezdemone, ona ne izražava apsolutnu pokornost mužu; ne zgražava se na pomen prevare; ne oprašta uvredu, već preti osvetom. Emilija je jedan od onih subverzivnih ženskih glasova koji se mogu naći u Šekspirovim dramama svih žanrova. Ona je žena koja čvrsto stoji na zemlji, ima iskustva u braku (možda i van njega), često preispituje navodnu nadmoć muškaraca i zalaže se za jednakost žena:

I mi imamo žuči, i mada smo  
Malo milostive, mi ipak imamo  
I osvetoljublja. Nek' su ljudi svesni  
Da i njine žene znaju osećati  
Kao i oni, da vide i mirišu,  
Da imaju nepce za slatko, kiselo,  
Kao i muževi.

.....  
Pa zar mi nemamo  
Strasti i želja, zabava, slabosti  
Kao i ljudi? Pa nek' postupaju  
S nama kako treba i uz pažnju svu,  
Znajući da njina zla uče nas zlu.

(4.3. 93-104)

Emilija je jedini lik u tragediji koji gotovo bez greške pogađa uzrok Otelove promene u ponašanju. Dok naivna Dezdemona veruje da su u pitanju državni poslovi, Emilija primećuje: „Neka da nebo da su to / državni poslovi, kao što misliš, a ne / sumnja, ljubomora sujeta, u vezi / s tobom“ (3.4. 53-55) i opominje Dezdemonu da se čuva ljubomore. Emilija predoseća da je Otelo obmanut; jedino ne može da pretpostavi da je njen muž taj koji ga je obmanuo: „Mavra je obmanuo neki lupež zli, / neki podlac, lukav nitkov, nevaljalac...“ (4.2. 39-48).

Najveća ironija u *Otelu* je upravo to što na Emiliju, koja jedina tačno sagledava situaciju, niko ne obraća pažnju. Kao žena i kao Dezdemonina sluškinja, ona je biološki, socijalno i ekonomski u podređenom položaju, i njenim rečima se ne veruje, čak ni kad govori istinu. Štaviše, njen glas kao da niko ne čuje, pa ni Dezdemona. Kao i u Dezdemoninom slučaju, Emilija treba da umre, da se žrtvuje kako bi se njena reč čula i kako bi joj poverovali. Njena smrt je i žrtva i iskupljenje – prouzrokovala je (nesvesno) smrt svoje gospodarice, ali ju je i osvetila.

Tragičan kraj koji doživljavaju obe supruge u *Otelu* navodi na pesimističan zaključak da je položaj supruge u patrijarhalnom poretku krajnje nesiguran i da zavisi od čudi i raspoloženja muža. Ukoliko se muž okrene protiv žene, svaka odbrana je uzaludna. Obe junakinje se u izvesnoj meri i pokoravaju i ne pokoravaju patrijarhalnom poretku: Dezdemona prevari oca, a mužu se pokorava apsolutno; Emilija pribavlja dokaz za Jaga, ali na kraju otkriva njegovu izdaju. Sve u svemu, supruge u *Otelu* donekle su svojim postupcima učestvovala u oblikovanju svoje sudbine, ali pokoravanje patrijarhalnom poretku ih je dovelo do tragičnog kraja.

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## SUMMARY

THE WIVES – VICTIMS OR ACCOMPLICES?  
FEMALE CHARACTERS IN *OTHELLO*

The paper examines the ways in which the characters of wives are presented in one of 'the great tragedies' – *Othello*. The thesis that is elaborated upon is that the characterization of women and wives in the tragedy cannot be isolated from the historical context, i.e. the patriarchal system of the time. The issues of family and marital relationships will be examined in the light of Feminist Criticism and New Historicism. The question that the paper tries to answer is whether the female characters are only victims of their husbands, i.e. patriarchy, or whether they are accomplices in their own tragic end.

**KLJUČNE REČI:** ženski likovi, karakterizacija, supruge, žrtve, saučesnice, patrijarhat.



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## ■ EN-GENDERING THE CLASH: ELLEN WILKINSON AND INTERWAR SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Ellen Wilkinson emerges in the difficult landscape of 1920s and 1930s political activism in Britain as something of a maverick personality, often contradicting the stern ideological definitions of the interwar period and its labour militancy, as well as the more orthodox principles of the so-called “New Feminism” which arose from the 1918 extension of the electoral franchise. As one critic (on whose work I rely to a great extent in this article) has noted, Wilkinson “had continually to confront the contradiction that the movement in which she invested much of herself... did not, in the main, subscribe to her belief in the importance of equality between the sexes” (Joannou 1995: 148). In effect, it was a widely-held assumption of working-class activism at the time that the explicit articulation of a political argument around women’s rights inevitably bought into the ideological camp of the bourgeoisie, thereby clouding the precise class identity of subject positions (whether male or female) within the labour movement.<sup>1</sup> Ellen Wilkinson’s relevance, in this context, is highlighted by her cogent, if somewhat tentative, attempts at a dialectical resolution of what came across as strictly irreconcilable positions. Her fictional intervention with *Clash* (1929) contributed, precisely, one such experimental gesture of synthesis, rehearsing a variety of political stances or subject positions (ranging from the progressive-liberal “New Feminist” type to the middle-class chauvinistic left-winger, and further to the ideal of a feminist-working-class/socialist alliance) through which her own symbolic position as a Labour MP with highly uncharacteristic concerns is in turn clarified.

Wilkinson’s iconic representation of gendered power in *Clash* does not detract from the class-conscious inclinations of her proletarian heroine. Joan Craig is a protean impersonation of working-class political instinct, discursively and emotionally articulate in both bourgeois-metropolitan and strictly industrial, working-class registers. She follows the mapped-out trajectory of many a (male) Labour figurehead, rising from grassroots union organiser to prominent activist and parliamentary candidate. The upward mobility record of the character is further complemented by that rather exceptional trait which adorned Wilkinson herself: a university education.<sup>2</sup> In a crucial sense, Joan Craig embodies the experimental values of a tentative fusion (between class and gender loyalties) whilst vindicating a subjective capacity for direct agency. Joan does not figure as a metonymic or subsidiary instance of an alternative

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power structure: her claims on leadership are unmediated, directly springing from a unitary identity which makes no attempt to disguise its combined definition as *both* gender- and class-specific. It is no coincidence that her given name, Joan, is in itself the emblematic signifier of a mythical-historical case of role subversion, and a general suspension of hegemonic patriarchal values. As Lisa Tickner has noted, both the name and icon of Joan of Arc commanded strong admiration and emotional identification from suffragists, as she had, in their view, “transcended the limitations of her sex and yet it was from the position of femininity – however unorthodox – that she posed a challenge to the English and to men” (Joannou 1995: 150).

Craig’s own challenge comes in the shape of a “private” negotiation of vocational alternatives and their ideological underpinnings, followed by its “public” or indeed social, consequences. *Clash* manages to convey the suggestion, at a time so fraught with divisions and tenuous attempts at self-definition within the feminist camp, that the personal is indeed the political; and so, that the subjectivisation of a given set of social determinants (class, gender) need not brand them as contradictory or mutually exclusive elements. Her representation as a fully-fledged subject with a capacity for agency, desire and judgement focuses on the essential “openness” of Joan’s life trajectory – an openness or fluidity which is all the more punctuated by the cross-class nature of her interactions.

In a very precise sense, this novel differs from other working-class narratives of the period in that there is no pre-determined immobility – no “historical necessity” – encoded in the life-world of its protagonist. A certain liberal instinct in the narrative presents inter-class exchanges (whilst maintaining an obviously socialist agenda) as a possibility available to the working-class individual.

The pivotal event of the novel – the 1926 General Strike – effectively presents the warring classes with a counter-intuitive opportunity for encounter and intimacy. Travelling to London for the unlikely circumstance of a TUC General Council ballot on a general strike, Joan is paradoxically introduced to a world of debonair middle-class *savoir vivre*, radical posing and ideological contradiction. What her gradual – if only transitory – absorption into the social fabric of the Bloomsbury intelligentsia reveals is the fundamental divide between the “real” condition of the Northern proletariat and the “ideal” projection of a leftist politics entirely removed from the immediacy of lived experience. Joan’s Bloomsbury host is a typically progressive bourgeois feminist, directly linked to the pre-war suffragist movement, and consequently modelled on that primitive paradigm of activism which had not yet fully rallied around class lines. Mary Maud Meadows – whose character is based on Wilkinson’s friend Margaret Lady Rhondda, editor of the feminist journal *Time and Tide* (Haywood/Joannou 2004: xvi) – tends to disregard precisely those real or objective conditions which anchor experience and agency in the more or less dynamic set of relations of production.<sup>3</sup> Or, more exactly, she is described as being “[u]tterly without a sense of class or wealth, she loved to bring people together who could help each other” (Wilkinson 2004: 9). This instinctual idealism, which one may even characterise as genuine inter-class utopianism, surfaces notably in the first exchange between the two women – a scene showcasing the irreducible gulf between opposing class positions. Mary Maud cannot help wincing at the suggestion of a general stoppage in transport, communications and industry – an event

which, for her, really does not conceal a dramatically embodied truth of deprivation or humiliation, but rather, signifies, in this first and most telling expression of middle-class consciousness, a source of untimely inconvenience. Mary Maud expresses her concern that the Strike may come into effect at the very time when everything is ready for the première of her friend Helen Dacre's play *Resurrection*: "My dear child, do you know what it is like to get a theatre these days? We've been negotiating for the Princess for months, and can only get it for three weeks as it is. Oh, why must you have this beastly strike just now?" she wailed." She is not long, however, in recovering her core leftist sense of injustice following Joan's rebuke that "[t]hese miners will be starved back into their holes unless something is done to help them now" (Wilkinson 2004: 12).

Joan's travelogue in the Bloomsbury realm of wealth and enlightenment brings out a number of contrasts whereby the class divide is integrally signified as difference of epistemology rather than just of status. This early exchange between Mary Maud and Joan is characteristic in the way it signals an incompatibility of perspectives, a jarring interference of material ideology (of class-conditioned instincts and assumptions) with the relatively autonomous sphere of "political ideas". Class returns in the shape of an obtrusive condition, of a traumatic kernel in the field of political agency, overshadowing connections, alliances and common undertakings between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The ultimate "clash" which these genetic discordances signal is emphasised by Wilkinson's novel in terms of epistemology, as a set of contrasting and often conflicting modes of cognition and representation of those "objective conditions" to which they all allegedly seek to respond. In that sense, Mary Maud Meadows fails at first to understand the current predicament of the working-class by failing to capture the latter's *material* commitment to a collective horizon. She misses the rationale of the General Strike by trying to reduce it to an antagonistic scenario concerning individuals instead of classes – a (mis)perception which elicits another quick retort from Joan.<sup>4</sup> Mary Maud suggests the possibility of directly intervening in the conflict in support of the miners' demands, thereby asserting her privileged position as an important coalmine shareholder:

"Couldn't I do anything? I'm a pretty big shareholder."

"No. Individuals are helpless at a time like this. It's mass that counts – both sides."

"But Joan, the individuals make up the mass..."

"You can't do anything as individuals, anyway," persisted Joan. "You might get a move on if you organized..." (Wilkinson 2004: 13)

The symbolic universe from which Mary Maud speaks, and where individual subject positions thrive, is manifestly antithetical to the industrial hubs of the North which Joan stands for. The metropolitan world of pomp and circumstance is presented as a lure, "a journey of temptation" (Fox 1994: 170) in which the neat adherence of the young union organiser to her collectively inflected identity risks dissolution under a wealth of possibilities – not least, that of forsaking her dual commitment to class and gender for one of the pre-established positions (as *exclusively* feminist or socialist).

In this context of estrangement from her native milieu, Anthony Dacre emerges as the embodiment of a distortion, of a drifting course away from Joan's purposive "politicisation of the personal". His effective wooing is significantly clad in a rhetoric

of left-liberal sympathy for the workers' cause and for women's emancipation, but it is ultimately exposed as inauthentic, or at least as subservient to that characteristically bourgeois privileging of "the personal" (understood as a sense reduction to subjective individualism), which Joan's reply to Mary Maud – "individuals are helpless at a time like this" – denounces with recognisable emphasis and collectivist sensibility.

Tony Dacre is a married writer whose detached but formally impeccable fiction of a marriage (to Mary Maud's friend and artist, Helen) seems to announce a genuine belief in the equality of the sexes, in a creative and flexible approach to romantic love. His initial infatuation with Joan presupposes a genuine interest in or admiration of her "difference", of her public incarnation of the imaginative organiser and labour movement activist in whom talent and spontaneity conspire to flout available stereotypes of femininity: "[t]he type of female who, while quite obviously competent to command an army corps, found it necessary to be coy, or else to deliver him a lecture on women's rights while she insisted on paying her share of the bill, tired Dacre" (Wilkinson 2004: 19). Yet the development of historical events – the advent of the Strike – forces a polarisation of feelings and ideas which will no longer allow such compromises. The complex commitment which Joan upholds (as a gendered *and* class-bound subject) is contrasted to Tony's fundamentally bourgeois faith in a firm separation of public and private spheres. As Joan becomes involved in her adherence to the cause of the workers – to a point where her subjectivity is directly predicated on her social being – Tony grows entrenched in an increasingly conservative conceptualisation of the division of roles between the sexes. His reticence before Joan's enthusiasm soon turns into dismay at her plans to run for a parliamentary seat in the wake of the Strike:

Damn this business of women's work. Why on earth did attractive girls like Joan want to work? Why couldn't they leave that to the plain women who had no other goods to market? It was all right getting keen on work till their mate came along, it made them more interesting, but it was time to drop all that nonsense when a lover's arms were waiting. (Wilkinson 2004: 94)

Even if such moments of crude sincerity are rare, and only indulged in through interior monologue, they certify the pitfalls of a concession to middle-class temptations. Romantic love, as discursively wielded by the bourgeois imagination, represents the ultimate betrayal of those fundamental commitments on which Joan's life hinges. "Love. What does that word mean, Mary Maud, the word that every flapper, every cheap journalist is always using? Do I love Tony? In my way, yes. In his way, no" (Wilkinson 2004: 116). The possibilities offered by an orthodox romantic entanglement with Tony are minimal, considering the contradictory nature of his fundamentally conservative assumptions – underneath the progressive veneer – and her unshaken determination to rise with her class in proud assertion of her sex. For indeed "Tony was essentially middle-class. He had none of that rigid, working-class patriotism which was Joan's inspiration and which Blain had so wholeheartedly adopted." (Wilkinson 2004: 92)

Gerald Blain emerges as a contrasting figure in the rather mild landscape of Bloomsbury radicalism. A crippled war hero, Blain epitomises the exilic identity of one self-ostracised from his native ranks, of a bourgeois-turned-socialist through

his traumatic experiencing of capitalist contradiction. Bearing the material traces of injustice within his body (as Tony explains to Joan, “[h]is inside is in bits – all silver tubes – and he is strapped together outside.”), Blain has to live with the unacceptable fact that his father “made millions out of Army supplies” (Wilkinson 2004: 32), and that those vain hopes once instilled by the fervour of his warmongering own have finally clashed against the cruel realities of illegitimate profit and general oblivion. Profoundly embittered by a sense of betrayal, Gerry turns to the socialist cause without a sense of private calculation or fashionable sympathy. His embrace is wholehearted inasmuch as his ostracism is complete. He projects an ideal impersonation of the class warrior which will ultimately eclipse Tony Dacre’s bland commitments and Mary Maud’s pseudo-romantic socialist-feminism. Gerry’s brand of socialism is head-on: his passionate commitment exposes the inherent timidity – and unreliability – of middle-class contrarians à la Dacre. Tony’s ultimate dismay at the idea of revolution (which is not very different from Mary Maud’s) becomes in Gerry sheer devotion: the sight of fuming factory chimneys moves him with a vision of conquest and of working-class power. Socialism beats with its promise of redemption through the cracks and wounds of a world as torn and savaged as his own body:

The struggle to control them [the factory chimneys] seemed the biggest thing in life for him. If only this strike could take them out of the hands of men like his father, the men to whom they represented only percentages and dividends – figures in a ledger – and put the workers in control, the researchers, the men who could build a great world. To Blain the working class, the men crowded into his meeting that night, had become the Hidden God. (Wilkinson 2004: 50)

For Joan, this character represents the companionable sense of solidarity and deep understanding required by her life project within the labour movement: an unlikely attachment which reaches beyond the dichotomous exigencies of romantic love and political commitment. In Joannou’s words: “[s]eeking to end the division between the private world of feeling and the public world of work, she chooses independence within marriage instead of romantic love” (Joannou 1995: 155). In turning away from Tony’s traditional promise of marriage and “true love”, and in acquiescing to Gerry’s proposal – based on co-operation and a sense of joint undertaking – Joan effectuates a reconciliation of the extreme positions maintained by middle-class feminists à la Mary Maud (whose rejection of the idea of marriage is wholesale) and those of working-class labour women, whose stern attachment to family and community generally makes them critical of feminist misgivings. Her egalitarian relationship with Gerry Blain, as projected at the end of the novel, is predicated on a sense of balance and rational symmetry between the public and private dimensions of subjectivity which her affair with Tony notoriously lacked. Joannou goes on to observe that “Ellen Wilkinson uses a romantic plot within a class-conscious narrative in *Clash*. But because the novel is concerned with a woman’s need for intimacy and for solidarity, the importance attached to purely individualistic longings and impulses must ultimately be qualified” (Joannou 1995: 154). In effect, the solution offered by the novel to the ostensive contradiction between the personal and the political is, as we have insisted, a dialectical one. This

is to say that the individual domain is not reducible to a set of particular or monadic concerns, but rather, that it derives from or is forged in, a trans-individual process of self-constitution. Wilkinson's exemplary politicisation of the romantic genre subverts this categorical pre-eminence of the private sphere, turning it into a function or component element of its collective horizon. Thus, in clear contradistinction to the archetypal narrative of romance, Wilkinson's heroine attains an exclusive subjective profile through her involvement with the labour movement; and most notably, after the defeat of the General Strike, through her "self-encounter" in the midst of her class and away from the mystifications of Bloomsbury luxury and narcissism.

Joan's growing doubts about her role as Tony's lover, compounded with a heightened sense of class-consciousness and accompanying guilt at her extravagant and "lazy week" in middle-class London, are resolved with a spatial shift of her concerns from the bland interiors of Bloomsbury chic to the grim realities of proletarian England. Joan needs to go back to Shireport, to the mining districts, in order to recover, not her political vision or programme, but the material sense of poverty – without which, as her union boss William Royd reminds her, political ideas lose their "edge":

We always seem to lose the best of our movement when they are tempted by the fleshpots... It's not that they change their beliefs, but all the edges get blunted. Poverty doesn't press on them so much. It's hidden, it becomes a matter of statistics. Just an objection to poverty isn't any good, Joan. You've got to be up against the real thing to hate it hard enough to be able to fight it. (Wilkinson 2004: 144)

Losing contact with the crude phenomenality of destitution, unemployment or post-strike victimisation involves taking the critical focus away from its collective dimension, reducing poverty and its figures to the abstract status of a "condition" (in the old, Victorian sense of the "condition of England" discourse) or problematic.

Wilkinson's radical gesture includes this "experiential" correction within a cross-class pattern inserted in the romantic plot. Whilst courting the dangers of a critical epistemology detached from its object (by lingering on the individual protagonist of a potentially private plot), the novel succeeds in confronting its essentially bourgeois generic form with a pervasive warning about its epistemic limitations. For, as John Kirk has pointed out:

[T]he predominant emphasis in bourgeois writing on the individual consciousness could be regarded as being of little use for expressing, or articulating, the collectivity of class, so that taking on the conventions of the bourgeois novel precludes class expression by individualising experience, thus silencing the imperatives of class. (Kirk 2007: 109)

If Wilkinson manages to circumvent such pitfalls, she does so by articulating an individual voice with a collective project based on both class and gender discourses. The privileged consciousness of the socialist-feminist protagonist carries within it an index of *dialectical mediation* which resolves both the epistemological knot of the public/private disjunctive, and the ideological contradiction haunting Labour women

in the interwar period. In the discursive context of Wilkinson's novel, this confrontation of spheres or sense-horizons results in a number of tentative or evolutionary "exiles" within Joan's consciousness: from the grim actualities of the industrial North to the lush universe of London's bourgeoisdom, and from self-ostracism in traditional romance to the politicisation of love and her "return" to the working class. This sequence marks an ascending dialectical trajectory from the stagnant politics of division (feminism versus labourism) which, as we have seen, characterise both the fictional context of *Clash* and the ideological environment of Wilkinson's biographical militancy. It proposes a resolutory alternative in which neither initial stance or position – socialist or feminist – is to be played off as exclusive or incompatible with the other. On the contrary, it shows a way forward for women *qua* women (i.e. *qua* focal, rather than supplementary or adjacent, political subjects in their own right) through the medium of class-specific socialist politics: "Ellen Wilkinson offers the reader revealing glimpses of how political struggle enables women, *as a consequence of their very involvement*, to identify and clarify their own priorities as women." (Joannou 1995: 158 my emphasis)

- 1 Feminists being identified in the popular imaginary of Labour activists as essentially "rich, but idle, ladies" (Graves 1994: 124).
- 2 This circumstance seldom concurred with that of genuine working-class origins, as indeed "[f]ew of the thirteen [Labour women] elected between 1923 and 1931 could claim any working-class background", while a number of them had been to university (Howell 2002: 337).
- 3 This "dynamic" quality has been emphasised by Raymond Williams (2005: 34): "So we have to say that when we talk of 'the base', we are talking of a process not a state. And we cannot ascribe to that process certain fixed properties for subsequent translation to the variable processes of the superstructure."
- 4 For more on the theoretical and historical position of the general strike within the general context of the class struggle, see Goodstein 1984.

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## SUMMARY

### EN-GENDERING THE CLASH: ELLEN WILKINSON AND INTERWAR SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Ellen Wilkinson's status as a pioneer in the history of British working-class feminism is to a great extent mediated by her reputation as the author of the 1929 novel *Clash*. This book stands out for its topical relevance as a major reflection on the 1926 General Strike and as a crucial interrogation of conflicting identities within the "progressive" movements of the period. In particular, Wilkinson manages to expose the contradictions haunting the labour movement on account of its stance on gender issues, and to criticise the class logic (or bias) underpinning established feminism. Wilkinson refuses to accept the terms of what she considers a disabling opposition (between labour and feminist militancy), resolving instead to weld a dialectical alternative in which gender and class identities are experienced as mutually reinforcing rather than exclusive.

**KEYWORDS:** Ellen Wilkinson, feminism, working Class, socialism, general strike, subjectivity, romance.



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■ TEXTBOOK AND FAIRY TALE:  
THE PITFALLS OF DIDACTICISM IN  
*THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MISS JANE PITTMAN*  
BY ERNEST J. GAINES

## INTRODUCTION

Written in the guise of an ethnological interview, *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* presents us with a fictitious life story anchored in historical reality. At the diegetic level, the novel is made up of Miss Jane Pittman's memories, collected and edited by a teacher for his young students. It is presented as a didactic creation to introduce Jane and her people in a history class. Such an endeavor is an ideological statement, an act of rebellion against official programs. For Miss Jane is an illiterate old woman who was born a slave, witnessed the rise of the emancipation movement, and whose experience is largely kept from young Americans.

In a 1974 interview, Gaines thus summarized the main reasons for his choice of subject matter: "Much of our story has not been told [...] we came to this country as slaves [...] Much of this has not been written about sympathetically." (Lowe 1995: 74) The whole body of Gaines's epitext testifies to a total identity of purpose between his and the teacher's enterprise as presented in the introduction. That is why to a great extent "the editor" is to be viewed as Gaines's persona: the author, too, is a pedagogue.

To be effective, didacticism requires a delineated objective in sight, easily identifiable by the student/reader. The entire work is subjected to that ultimate goal, which often entails simplifying—if not oversimplifying—complex situations. In the case of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*, the success of the pedagogue's effort largely lies in his ability to arouse the reader's identification with the heroine. Her testimony being so poignant and her psychology so sketchy, however, Miss Jane Pittman is likely to appear as a type, with whom we are led to identify mostly at an emotional level.

*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* raises key issues in the field of the writing of the self insofar as its narrative strategies blur the boundaries between fiction, biography and autobiography. It thus brings to the fore some of the contradictions inherent to the genre. In the context of the popular and critical success of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*<sup>1</sup> these contradictions have been greatly overlooked;

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this article proposes a reappraisal of a book whose literary form seems driven by an essentially didactic purpose.

Since the novel's didacticism stems from a clearly revisionist trend aimed at challenging canonical American history, it will first be necessary to point out some of the manipulative processes brought into play in an effort to transform the raw data of a life story into an exemplary "autobiography." It will then become apparent that, paradoxically, the narrative strategy giving textual voice and identity to an illiterate ex-slave may well turn out both emancipative and infantilizing for the heroine and the reader alike.

## 1. THE CREATION OF AN EXEMPLARY AUTOBIOGRAPHY

### 1.1. "Miss Jane Pittman" as a didactic tool

The introduction makes it clear that the reason for the editor's undertaking is to rectify the contents of history textbooks: "Miss Jane is not in them" (Gaines 1971: v). The urgency that underlies his initiative arises from the constraints of the school timetable and probably from the inevitable nearing of Miss Jane's death; the initiative also coincides with a political context in tune with such an endeavor. To a great extent, the civil rights protests of the early 1960s were about black Americans striving to get a sense of identity through a coming to terms with the enslavement of their ancestors. As one of those ancestors, Miss Jane is endowed with natural authority; her testimony should be able to shed light on their oppressed past, as well as to provide teachings on how to fight the contemporary social inequality.

Miss Jane's modesty makes her a reluctant witness ("each time I asked her she told me there was no story to tell" [Gaines 1971: v]) and an unwilling teacher. She mostly contents herself with narrating events and hardly ever analyzes her motivations. Since the interviewer chose to conceal his questions, the final text flows as if Miss Jane were talking in structured fashion. In the manner of slave narratives, the end result is chronological, told in a vernacular recognizable as originating from popular southern culture, but sufficiently watered down to be understood by an implied reader not necessarily conversant with a dialect so geographically and historically circumscribed. The obvious structuring and linguistic processing of Miss Jane's original narrative draws the attention to the manipulative role of the teacher, who brings together the functions of interviewer, editor—and, actually, co-author. For his is avowedly not a scrupulous scientific method: he announces in his introduction that he made numerous fundamental choices to compensate for what he thought were shortcomings on Miss Jane's part: "there were times when others carried the story for her ... Much of [what she said] was too repetitious and did not follow a single direction" (Gaines 1971: vi, vii). Such choices are made invisible throughout the text which, despite its polyphonic nature, seems to stem from a single voice.

The diegetic contract thus offered by the introduction is only apparently of a scientific nature. By drawing our attention to the creation of the text it warns us that if what follows is a didactic work, it is also necessarily an esthetic construct aimed at creating the illusion of the truth:

autobiography written as a collaboration [...] reminds us that what is “true” is in itself an artefact and that the “author” is the creation of a contract. The *division of labour* between two “people” (at least) discloses the multiplicity of the parties at work in the process of autobiographical writing, as well as in any kind of writing. Far from imitating the unity of authentic autobiography, it underlines its oblique, calculated character. (Lejeune 1980: 235)<sup>2</sup>

Although Lejeune is here referring to non fictional autobiography, his theory proves all the more relevant in our study of a fictional assisted autobiography in which the interviewer-editor himself discloses some aspects of his manipulative power in his introduction. In essence, these preliminaries did not originate from Miss Jane; they are not even the first demonstration of the editor’s omnipotence: the very title of the narrative asserts the old lady’s ownership of her memories while depriving her of any authorship: “*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*” cannot really be the autobiography of the ever so modest Miss Jane Pittman, who is nowhere quoted as demanding a third person title for her first person narrative.

This “Miss Jane Pittman,” then, is mostly a didactic tool destined to bypass some of the subjectivity inherent to any individual account, in an attempt at transforming the original private story into a more generalized one, deemed better fit for classroom teaching. To a great extent, thus putting her at a distance while giving the impression that she is speaking in her own voice partakes of a process granting Miss Jane—and, consequently, all the people with an analogous background—exemplary status. In that respect, the editor-teacher introduces new figures in the school curriculum and contributes to broaden the minds of his students. On the other hand, he does so by providing yet another simplistic topos canonizing the black slave as an American icon, alongside the consecrated Founding Fathers.

## 1.2. A conventional textbook?

From the declaration of didactic intent in its introduction down to each event of Miss Jane’s life and the very structuring of those events, *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* is given the major characteristics of a textbook. Gaines left no identifiable milestone unturned when it came to selecting the major episodes of his heroine’s life, which spans from the end of the Civil War to just before John F. Kennedy’s assassination. Most of these milestones turn out to be very familiar landmarks and figures of American history (slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, scalawags, Frederick Douglass, Lincoln, Huey Long, the two world wars, Martin Luther King and the protest movements of the 1950s and 1960s, etc.). This strategy leaves very little to the reader’s imagination or conjecture and gives a hint of the univocal reading ascribed to *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. “I wanted twelve things that could have happened state-wide that a 110 year old woman might be able to recall” (Lowe 1995: 94-95). Besides the obviousness and predictability of most of those events, their very structuring confirms an author’s iron grip upon what is supposed to be the rambling of an old woman. Although the presence of an introduction is quite common in all types of books, the conspicuous heading “Introduction”

undeniably gives a hint of the conventional approach governing the entire structure. The division of Miss Jane's account into four "Books" of equal length demonstrates the arbitrary carving up of her life story into four periods of equal importance, thus inducing the belief that Miss Jane's life story follows some immanent, logical course and, as such, is the vector of unmistakable teachings. The use of transparent titles for each section ("Book One: The War Years," "Book Two: Reconstruction," "Book Three: The Plantation," "Book Four: The quarters") provides a reassuring entrance into the carefully marked-out map of Miss Jane's life odyssey. Subdivided into short chapters also bearing self-explanatory titles ("Soldiers," "Freedom," "Heading North," etc.), the body of the text is further made reader-friendly. This paratextual device is characteristic of didactic works striving not to scare away the reader with a limited attention span, while making sure they will not miss the point. What is more, this creates a welcome sense of anticipation: the suspenseful "Massacre," for instance, announces the key event in the opening chapter and at the same time is likely to stimulate the failing interest of many a distracted reader.

Despite its obvious advantages, the subdivision pattern is also likely to prove tiresome because of its predictability and may eventually turn counterproductive. Revealingly, the fourth "book" does not follow such a strict framework; visually, Jane's narrative flow goes unhindered, emancipated, as it were, from the tutelary presence of the editor. The latter changes his structural strategy in the last quarter of the book, relinquishing his tight control and leaving the story unfinished, with a "Conclusion" conspicuous by its absence. This structural break coincides with a noticeable change in Miss Jane, who has by now grown much more independent and rebellious. The relative emancipation of her narrative reflects the changes that have occurred among the inhabitants of the quarters. She has gained the status of torchbearer and her life is synonymous with the fight for freedom of her entire people. Since this fight is left in the making, the apparently broken structure of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* turns out to remain meaningful till the very end; there is no conclusion to Miss Jane's "autobiography" because "Miss Jane's story is all of their stories, and their stories are Miss Jane's" (Gaines 1971: viii).

## 2. A FAIRY TALE PATTERN

### 2.1. The infantilizing of Miss Jane

The artificial relationship created by the editor's technique for unearthing and gathering Miss Jane's memories raises the type of ideological and psychological questions alluded to by Lejeune:

*curiosity* urges us to explore an unknown civilization in the midst of our own [...], and which often does not "know" itself.

Any real-life experience is thus collected in an ethnological perspective and becomes an object in the eyes, the ears or the discourse of a subject who handles it according to their own identity or their own interest. The survey apparently allows

the “personal” discourse of the interviewees to become the organizing subject of their own lives, but in reality their discourse becomes a field of study or an object fit for consumption (for delectation) by somebody else, by the one who has the power to read and write. Such intervention is at once a form of rescue or help, and a form of violation or voyeurism, of misuse of power. [...] virtually all investigators and writers strive to [...] limit as much as possible the potentially appalling or condescending aspect of the relationship induced by the survey, to soften the domination that sustains their approach. (Lejeune 1980: 269)<sup>3</sup>

The seeming absence of the editor in the body of the text, induced primarily by the first person narration, leads the reader to believe that Miss Jane controls the direction of her narrative and, consequently, has acquired sufficient insight to assess her life progress. Lejeune has demonstrated that the ethnological type of interview establishes a pattern of ascendancy of the interviewer over the interviewee. In the case of a fictional interview of a very old woman by a—necessarily—much younger person, this situation is akin to a reversal of the adult-child relationship: the teacher takes on the role of the omnipotent grownup by the sheer authority of his ability to write and, at the age of 108 or 109, Miss Jane achieves the paradoxical status of a little girl whose story telling is viewed by adults with a mixture of admiration and benevolent condescension. To crown it all, her barrenness and her unmarried state combine to prevent her full integration in the world of grownups and symbolically make her a perpetual child. This explains why her account has so much in common with a fairy tale, whose diegesis revolves around either a child or a child-like character, but is told by an omniscient narrator belonging to the adult world.

## 2.2. A flat character?

Fairy tales were originally folktales, adapted by aristocrats as literary entertainment; for practical purposes, most of the critical apparatus encompasses the form of the popular tale in the general heading of “fairy tale.” Ironically, fairies are usually absent from such narratives, which probably make up the earliest form of popular literature. The fairy tale is a story of growing up mostly designed for children, but its timeless, universal concerns also encompass adults’ unresolved questionings. It is the didactic genre par excellence, for it presents children with the spectacle of fundamental problems linked to their admission into the adult world, while providing them with adequate ways of dealing with potentially traumatic experiences.

At the diegetic level, Miss Jane’s story is designed to teach young students the hidden side of their collective origin. In its ultimate form as *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*, the goal is identical and more general, for it may act as a mind-opener to adults. The paradox is that, in fairy tale fashion, the heroine is brought to life only with a scant description and a relatively superficial personality, as though she did not deserve special interest. She is the ever victimized yet resourceful black woman, who has managed to keep her dignity throughout many adversities: a fairy tale-like stock character we have repeatedly encountered in literature and cinema.

In harmony with the fairy tale pattern, Miss Jane is not a heroine by virtue of the progressive revelation of her psychology. She starts out as a person in the making and acquires her individuality by the way she copes with her successive ordeals. The editor's preface, however, presents Miss Jane as a real life character belonging to contemporary history and her adventures are set within a clearly defined historical background. This realistic framework is fundamentally different from the paradigmatic "Once upon a time" device, conceived to induce an immediate suspension of disbelief. Yet such discrepancies do not rule out *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* as a latter-day fairy tale, for society has been efficient at blotting slavery out of collective memory, and many readers will probably find Miss Jane's 1930s Louisiana alien to their environment, as exotic as fairyland. Incidentally, his admirers called Huey Long "the Kingfish" and *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* does present him as a benevolent ruler striving to check the villainy of the merciless southern aristocrats feeding upon their defenseless slaves.

### 2.3. Adherence to and departure from the canon

The fairy tale quality of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* is made apparent right from the visual presentation of the Bantam volume, whose title pages of each of the four "books" are adorned with old fashioned illustrations strongly reminiscent of many popular collections. It is enough, for instance, to peruse a recent Wordsworth edition of the classic *English Fairy Tales* to notice striking similarities, not only in the quality of the paper (which is probably incidental), but mostly in Arthur Rackham's renowned illustrations, created at the beginning of the twentieth century.

More importantly, the structure of Miss Jane's account of growing up turns out to be quite close to Vladimir Propp's pattern as theorized in his ground breaking *Morphology of the Folktale* (published in Russian in 1928 and translated at the end of the 1950s). According to Propp, folktales are mostly based on action. They vary only to a certain extent, and invariably involve the same type of characters who always perform the same type of actions, which he calls "functions." Each tale begins with an initial situation, in which members of the family and the hero are introduced; from then on, all the structural elements fall into thirty-one functions, numbered accordingly. The characters may be numerous, but the functions they represent are only a few; this explains the multiformity of the fairy tale as well as its invariability.

The didacticism of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* owes a lot to the textual mechanics brought to light by Propp, and a thorough analysis of Gaines's novel in the light of that theory would prove illuminating. At this point, however, this article may only present the case in a nutshell. The short chapters that make up the first three quarters of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* divide up the text into identifiable units whose main functions the reader can hardly miss. Such functions do coincide with Propp's mechanics: "Soldiers" presents the heroine and her environment, thus providing the initial situation, then "Freedom" introduces Function 2 (Interdiction), in which Miss Jane is warned not to go to Ohio. Her stubbornness makes her violate the interdiction, since she joins the group led by Big Laura in "Heading North" with a view to getting there anyway. This corresponds to Propp's Function 3 (Transgression),

and naturally leads to function 8 in the following chapter, entitled “Massacre.” Propp insists that function 8 is the most important, for it gives a tale its major impulse. The slaughter of the party by patrollers actually combines the two possibilities provided for by Function 8 and its offshoot, Function 8a. Both deal with the notion of lack—either from the outside (as when the villain harms a family member) or from the inside (when the protagonist needs or desires something). In “Massacre” Miss Jane’s companions, her symbolic relatives, get killed and she is now looking for a surrogate family in Ohio with even greater motivation. On her way, she comes across several adults who get her out of embarrassing situations; they fulfill the function of the helper who aids the protagonist at a pivotal moment. Chief among them are the Yankee from the Federal Government who pays the ferry fare in “Shelter for a Night” and takes them to a refuge; the hunter who feeds them before vanishing as if by magic in “The Hunter” and, in “The Old Man,” the old man who also gives them food, who warns Jane of the dangers ahead and tries to show her the way on his map—just before the two children meet Job, yet another helper, who also feeds them and leads them to another shelter. Miss Jane’s repeated encounters with the evils of segregation leave a physical imprint characteristic of the marking resulting from the struggle of the fairy tale protagonist against the villain (Functions 16 and 17); following that battle, the principal character either gets a scarf or a ring, or a physical mark. Miss Jane got the latter and insists such a feature is typical of her entire people:

“I have a scar on my back I got when I was a slave. I’ll carry it to my grave. You got people out there with this scar on their brains, and they carry that scar to their grave. The mark of fear [...] is not easily removed.” (Gaines 1971: 242)

At the end of the novel, Robert Samson stands for all despotic white planters. He is the arch villain of the didactic tale that has been unfolding up to the climactic scene of the very last page, as he finds himself face to face with Miss Jane and the other inhabitants of the quarters, upon whom he can no longer impose his will. Following Propp’s pattern, this defeat corresponds to Function 18, and logically leads to Miss Jane’s ultimate transfiguration (i.e. Function 29) as the leader of the protesters.

The fairy tale analogy is carried even further by a few conspicuous stylistic similarities, as exemplified by the quasi identity between a passage from the Grimms’ famed “Little Snow White” and the end of the first chapter of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*:

“She [the stepmother] called a huntsman, and said, ‘Take the child away into the forest; I will no longer have her in my sight.’”<sup>4</sup>  
 “‘Take her to the swamps and kill her,’ my mistress said. ‘Get her out of my sight.’”  
 (Gaines 1971: 10)

As the biography of an adult in the making, a fairy tale presents an essentially individual response to the hardships of life; the psychological emancipation it depicts is first and foremost a private affair and social implications are secondary. The completeness of Miss Jane’s transformation at the end of her journey of initiation contrasts with the incompleteness of the new task she finds herself entrusted with. Contrary to what is supposed to occur at the end of a fairy tale, none of her concrete problems are eventually

resolved: her beloved Jimmy is dead, the success of a protest planned in Bayonne is not guaranteed, and Robert Samson and his kind are still very much in command. A fairy tale proclaims the restoration of an Edenic beginning or the advent of a new, ideal and atemporal life; *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* performs cannot hint at any pastoral beginning to the ex-slaves' American past, and merely provides a glimmer of hope for a better future. It uses the pattern of the fairy tale and subverts the latter's purpose. For the true nature of the heroine's problems is not her temporary inadequacy but her oppressive environment, which providence and strength of will are powerless to overthrow. *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* may be an individual's life story, but the moral it is meant to bring home is essentially ideological: younger generations must become acquainted with their collective past so as to engage in political action.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Though Gaines declared that he "didn't have any political thought in mind in terms of using a historical novel as a vehicle to rewrite American history," (Gaines 1998) *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* was written in times of great political protests, with a view to contributing to the reassessment of the Afro American experience. It does so without ever resorting to inflated rhetoric, but not without falling into the pitfalls inherent to any militant discourse, bent on efficacy in convincing the reader—often at the cost of psychological realism and complexity. The systematic lack of access to Miss Jane's thoughts leaves us with a flat character undergoing a series of peripeteia in fairy tale fashion, leading to a conventional final transfiguration scene. Miss Jane is so carefully devised to be a composite of her generation that she is not allowed much individuality, reduced to a few easily identifiable traits: sauciness, stubbornness, independence, resilience, self-sacrifice, etc. Any potentially controversial idiosyncrasy seems to have been blotted out; even her idiolect is hardly distinguishable from the local dialect.<sup>5</sup> Such a strategy befits the didactic purpose of the persona of the teacher/editor, and has indeed proved rewarding in such a context: "his stories are so eminently teachable, so appealing and successful as classroom texts" (Doyle 2002: 23). Evidently, Miss Jane's status as a torchbearer has reached beyond the diegetic level, to win eminence as a politically correct Afro American icon.

- 1 *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* was immediately successful: by mid 1975 850,000 paperback copies and over 26,000 hardback copies had been sold. By 1986 it had been reprinted over 28 times and translated into German, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese, Russian and Spanish. The novel was nominated for both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. In 2007 it was put on the curriculum of the *agrégation*, the high-level competitive examination for English teachers in France.
- 2 L'autobiographie composée en collaboration [...] rappelle que le « vrai » est lui-même un artefact et que l'« auteur » est un effet de contrat. La *division du travail* entre deux « personnes » (au moins) révèle la multiplicité des instances impliquées dans le travail d'écriture autobiographique comme dans toute écriture. Loin de mimer l'unité de l'autobiographie authentique, elle met en évidence son caractère indirect et calculé. (Lejeune 1980: 235, my translation).
- 3 La *curiosité* pousse à explorer une civilisation inconnue au sein même de notre société [...], et qui souvent ne se « connaît » pas elle-même.  
Tout vécu se trouve donc collecté dans une perspective ethnologique, et se trouve constitué comme objet dans le regard, l'écoute ou le discours d'un sujet qui le prend en charge en fonction de sa propre identité,



de son propre intérêt. Le discours « personnel » des enquêtés, auquel l'enquête propose en apparence l'occasion de devenir le sujet organisateur de leur propre vie, devient en fait champ d'étude ou produit de consommation (de délectation) pour un autre, celui qui a le pouvoir d'écrire et de lire. En même temps qu'elle est une forme de sauvetage ou d'aide, l'intervention est un acte de viol ou de voyeurisme, une forme d'abus de pouvoir. [...] presque tous les enquêteurs et écrivains s'emploient [...] à atténuer au maximum ce que pourrait avoir d'odieux ou de condescendant la relation d'enquête, à estomper le rapport de domination qui fonde leur démarche. (My translation).

- 4 Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, "Little Snow-White," *Household Tales: Vol. XVII, Part 2*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909-14 The Harvard Classics. Available at <http://www.bartleby.com/17/2/25.html> [02. 01. 2009].
- 5 Michlin aptly mentions "an apparently involuntary stylistic weakness of this *speakerly* novel: that so many *different* voices turn to the *same* rhetoric" (Michlin 2005: 125). She quickly dismisses such a potential shortcoming, however, by attributing the flattening out of the voices to a deliberate narrative technique: "Since Gaines undoubtedly realized this as he wrote, the only explanation is that all the voices turn into one because we hear them through Miss Jane's ventriloquizing, and that he exhibits this dimension by having Miss Jane modify these other voices as she supposedly echoes them." (Michlin 2005: 125) This argument relativizes Miss Jane's skill as a storyteller, for if she does make up a "one-woman orchestra" (Michlin 2005: 126), this orchestra turns out to be made up of only one instrument.

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## SUMMARY

### "TEXTBOOK AND FAIRY TALE: THE PITFALLS OF DIDACTICISM IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MISS JANE PITTMAN BY ERNEST J. GAINES"

*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* has a clear aim in sight. It is to challenge canonical American history by creating an exemplary "autobiography." The interviewer-editor's manipulation of the voice of an illiterate ex-slave is all the more efficacious as it is subtle and paved with good intentions. Such a pedagogical enterprise, however, involves conventional narrative choices which paradoxically end up infantilizing a very old woman and transforming her life story into a latter-day fairy tale.

**KEYWORDS:** Autobiography, biography, slave narrative, fairy tale, folk tale, ideology, didacticism, history, slavery.





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## ■ THE CULT OF IRVINE WELSH'S *TRAINSPOTTING*: AN APPENDIX OF A CULTURE OR AN ALTERNATIVE *OSSIAN*?

Irvine Welsh described *Trainspotting* (1993), his literary debut, as follows: "It is like a bad curry after a few pints of lager. It keeps coming back" (Morace 2001: 15). His own tongue-in-cheek, wry comment resonated – quite unanimously – with the voice of the academia. Apparently, the book was not short-listed for the Man Booker Prize because it was considered abominable. Rumour has it that two female jury members felt deeply offended by the book and the three remaining male judges were too gentlemanly to try to override their objections. *Trainspotting* failed to win the Whitbread First Novel Award<sup>1</sup> for the same reason. Professor Philip Hobsbaum, a much-respected Glaswegian academic, voiced the opinion of many when he prophesied that "Irvine Welsh will be here today and gone tomorrow" (Morace 2001: 16). Yet, the growing popularity of the *enfant terrible* of the Scottish prose found him wrong: by mid-1996, Welsh was seemingly omnipresent, all his books were on the bestseller list, two adaptations were put on the stage and an eponymous film turned Welsh into a rising star of the new generation of Scottish writers and an international cultural icon.

The popularity of both *Trainspotting* and its author exploded into a cult. *The Rough Guide to Cult Fiction* states that "the term cult fiction implies lengthy and irrational devotion probably, but not necessarily, by an ardent minority, to an author or book" (Simpson / Bushell / Roddis 2005: 5). Cult, however, remains hard to classify – it is often regarded as a phenomenon of limited, small-scale appeal which may be sustained by a relatively small group of dedicated followers that does not (or perhaps should not) have broad mainstream appeal. The element of protest and a wish to exclude the rabid crowd that merely "jumped the bandwagon" is high on the list of priorities of the truly devoted cult followers.

The idea of cult fiction should be perhaps reconsidered in terms of intense loyalty of the fans rather than their number. The loyalty of Irvine Welsh's fans (who frequently shared the "moral code" of his protagonists) was undisputed – *Trainspotting* soon became the most shoplifted book in Britain (Morace 2001: 25).

However, the "bad man" of Scottish literature and a writer of rebellious gestures was somehow domesticated and transformed into a seminal, essential cultural influence and his fiction insinuated its way into anthologies, textbooks and literary conferences.

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Without any doubt, the real impact of Welsh extends the limits of the cult fiction definition. Carl MacDougall even suggests, somewhat extravagantly that “we may find ourselves with a psychopathic junkie or a soor-faced policeman<sup>2</sup> as alternative Ossians.” (MacDougall 2004: 128).

Much to the detriment of conservative scholars, she has got a point. Ossianic ballads, too, appeared as a culmination of trends that formed the undercurrent of the eighteenth-century Scottish literature for many past decades and resurfaced just in time to meet the demand of the eager cult following. *Trainspotting* might be too perceived in terms of a conference call of many voices, many traditions – each taking its turn, each of them contributing to its triumphantly positively subversive effect.

However, what was there to subvert or redefine in the Scottish cultural context? Scottish culture of the second half of the twentieth century tended to perceive itself as a bad joke. These were hardly optimistic times; the Scottish literature was regarded as a mere appendix of a culture that is dead and that of a nation that failed, mentally as well as politically.

Truly enough, Scottish literature used to boast more than a handful of trend setters in the past: Macpherson, Hogg, Stevenson, Burns and Scott; all of these having had an enormous impact on the literary life south of the Scottish borders and even beyond Britain. However, much has changed over two centuries. Delusional attitudes to the national identity and culture in the historical perspective were only partly responsible for the prevalent bad mood. Back in the gloomy depths of 1980s, in the wake of the referendum about re-establishment of the Scottish parliament and devolution of political power, Scotland had to admit defeat: the nation seemed too weak even to will itself into autonomous existence. Dependent, insignificant and too passive to make any change, it remained a colony within Britain. In response, the stateless, language-less nation was cherishing and cultivating the vision of the past greatness and glory, hero worshipping *Ossian*, Burns, Scott and idolizing William Wallace the “Braveheart” – the typical Scottish hardened hero for every generation.

Scottish identity as it was represented in art oscillated between hope and despair, between delusions of grandeur and self-hatred. However, Scottish authors of the past two decades seem to have resisted the romanticized version of their past, because they comprehended it as only something that compounds the systematic erasure of self in the Scottish culture. Irvine Welsh appeared at the forefront of those who detested the “tartan myths” of bravery, nobility of spirit and heroic resistance and preferred to shatter them instead:

It’s nae good blamin it oan the English fir colonising us. Ah don’t hate the English. They’re just wankers. We are colonised by wankers. We can’t even pick a decent, vibrant culture to be colonised by. No. We’re ruled by effete arseholes. What does that make us? The lowest of the fuckin’ low, the scum of the earth. Ah don’t hate the English. They just git oan wi the shite thuv goat. Ah hate the Scots. (Welsh 1993: 78)

Mark Renton’s emotional trauma has broader ramifications: inferiority complex and self-hatred, that manifests itself in this half-angry, half desperate rant, has a long literary

tradition. However, fighting the misery seems pointless. This “frozen” mental state of protagonists has broader ramifications – Scottish fiction has been both tempered as well as inflamed by the tradition of Calvinistic determinism and a notion of futility of all human effort. Those who are determined to fail, will do so. Welsh’s protagonists seem to live with an apprehension that God (or fate) may have a very unpleasant surprise in store for all of them – and therefore act accordingly.

*Trainspotting* both the book and the eponymous hobby in the title become symbolic of this bleak vision. Both activities (trainspotting as well as writing about a group of addicts) are perceived as completely pointless; impossible and futile at the same time. Trainspotting and heroin consumption both fill in time, but otherwise nullify a person’s existence – Welsh’s addicts seem to be simply biding their time until the next “nasty surprise”, because no effort ever matters. This is a symptom of a deep spiritual and social crisis, of shutting out life instead of reaching out. Gavin Wallace coined the term “novel of damaged identity” to describe the emerging literary trend of “hollow voices in empty houses” (Wallace / Stevenson 1993: 217).

Mark Renton, the main protagonist, claims freedom to fall and fail, breaking free from determinism. His “quest” for self-definition corresponds to freedom from the choice of life in one of the memorable quotes:

Choose Life. Choose a job. Choose a career. Choose a family. Choose a fucking big television, choose washing machines, cars, compact disc players and electrical tin openers. Choose good health, low cholesterol, and dental insurance. Choose fixed interest mortgage repayments. Choose a starter home. Choose your friends... Choose rotting away at the end of it all, pishing your last in a miserable home, nothing more than an embarrassment to the selfish, fucked up brats you spawned to replace yourself. Choose your future. Choose life. (Welsh 1993: 69)

But Mark’s nihilistic speech is a titanic rebellion attempted by a dwarf. Mark Renton chose freedom from conventions, hypocrisy of the society and its values, but his claim at freedom dissolves any time withdrawal symptoms catch up with him. Lamentably, he is ready to embrace his pre-determined fate by willingly succumbing to drug addiction and thus losing the freedom to make any other choices.

*Trainspotting* is a metanarrative of national identity capitalizing on its already spectacular tradition of despair. Novels of the previous decades rejoiced at cultivating this Scottish malaise, but they were playing off stereotypes of defiant hard men who are blessed – despite the terrible consequences they have to slog through – because they can always rely on each other and on the steadying hand of the community.

However, Welsh as much as James Kelman before him laughed at escapism of such vision and reported what they could see first-hand: disintegration of working class communities. “With destruction of the communities the values that sustained them were also weakened and any certainties disappeared” (MacDougall 2004: 62). People were no longer defined by their job or community and the sense of belonging, fitting in and finding solace has gone to be replaced by alienation and disaffection. Welsh identified a new underclass of redundant, practically invisible people, for whom loyalty to a group does not exist, whose “friendships” are defined by need and fear and whose

only wish is to shut the doors of perception and disappear into a drug-induced dream. Irvine Welsh depicted a decimation of traditional forms of community and collective life since the network of heroin users is based on the antithesis of communal values.

Some aspects of the novel attract much attention and resonated with the impression of so many people because the people in the post-Thatcher Britain found the crudeness of reality and a total lack of vision unbearable. This attitude gave rise to this dangerously seductive book that describes apotheosis of destruction or even self-destruction, it lectures people in the art of endless evasion, the art of not passing tests and avoiding any responsibility. But at the same time *Trainspotting* serves as a case study of addiction, warning people of its perils. The literary achievement of Welsh's prose is based on a paradox – notable silences in the book speak volumes and the most solitary gestures – such as taking a heroin dose – can be read as an attempt to reach out to the community of readers.

Without any doubt, this was an attempt destined for success. Irvine Welsh's fiction can be seen not only as a cult book but – given the positive way many Scottish young people responded to it – as a “cathartic reappraisal” (Wallace / Stevenson 1993: 222) of life. *Trainspotting* is firmly rooted in the ambivalent tradition of Scottish literature – in so called “Caledonian antiszygy”.<sup>3</sup> This term was popularized by Hugh MacDiarmid who saw it as the conjunction of opposites, a reflection of contrasts that may be applied to Scottish life and culture in general, because only Scots have such a large capacity for containing in themselves and their art elements that contradict each other.

Given the paradoxical characteristics of the “polar twins of the Scottish Muse” (Sassi 2005: 148), it is legitimate to consider the issue of empowerment *through* restriction as opposed to the empowerment despite restriction.

Considering the fact that the Scottish suffered from inferiority complex based on binary oppositions where Scotland became everything England was not (barbaric, parochial, insignificant etc.) it was hard to accept that Scotland could even give birth to contemporary Ossian. What is more, to give birth of an Ossian speaking the vernacular, swearing, copulating, abusing drugs and commenting on the most embarrassing aspects of life – this used to go against a lifetime's training of the majority of Scottish readers.

However, marginality was made central and a potential barrier proved a viable trend – both *Trainspotting* and its author stood the test of time. Figuratively speaking, even the description of smelly linen soiled with excrements<sup>4</sup> can be perceived as a gust of fresh wind – a window of change that was opened in the stuffy room of what Scottish fiction used to represent.

Irvine Welsh's voice is no *bel canto* in the Scottish literary context, but it is a voice that helped the Scottish literature to overcome self-imposed silence and blazed trails in new areas. Scottish literature has achieved a significant breakthrough, it escaped from solipsism and entrapment in inarticulacy.

1 The Costa Books Award. The prize sponsorship was taken over by the Costa Coffee in 1997.

2 MacDougall has made use of demotic Scots.

3 The term itself was coined by G. Gregory Smith in his 1919 book *Scottish Literature: Character and Influence*.

4 One of the stories contained in the book describes (in very graphic terms) effects of a drunken night on the state of linen next morning.

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## SUMMARY

**THE CULT OF IRVINE WELSH'S TRAINSPOTTING:  
AN APPENDIX OF A CULTURE OR AN ALTERNATIVE OSSIAN?**

This article comments on the way Scottish national stereotypes in literature – ambivalence, “tartan myths” and the tradition of despair – are exposed and employed in Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting*.

**KEYWORDS:** Scottish fiction, ambivalence, national myths, drug addiction in literature.



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## ■ MEANS OF EXERCISING POWER IN SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S *PAMELA; OR, VIRTUE REWARDED*

In this article we discuss matters related to forms of *physical* and *psychic conflict* between the representatives of two socio-cultural classes in the eighteenth-century England, namely between the virtuous maid and the aggressive aristocrat of the eighteenth-century while the latter tries to take possession over the woman's body by means of *rape*.

Anne Vinsel considers that from a social and psychological standpoint rape constitutes a form of sexual assault of a person against her/his wishes (Vinsel 1977: 184). Vinsel also mentions aspects related to the so-called "rape mythology", for example the case of women secretly wanting to be raped. The author emphasizes the fact that rape is an exertion of male power over women. A means of social control and a weapon of war, rape evolved and also constituted a stimulus to the establishment of the family. Thus, rape has always been an instrument in keeping women subdued and aware of their inferior position. In her review essay, Vinsel comments that Brownmiller's book<sup>1</sup> accentuates a central notion in the discussion about rape, namely the fact that rape is the logical outcome of *unequal power relationships* between women and men. It is then an extreme form of the normal man-woman interaction.

The two authors (quoted by Vinsel 1977: 185) mention the motives that lead to rape, among which we mention the male's sexual desire, the desire to humiliate the female, or the intention to keep her under the control of fear, etc.

Vinsel also refers to Russell's comments about the roots of rape as a social phenomenon. The author states that the grounds for rape are offered by the separate and unequal socialization to which males and females are subjected in the society. Russell speaks about notions like *female* and *male mystiques* which represent the features traditionally associated to each sex, namely those characteristics that are regarded as typical to a woman and typical to a man. Therefore, the author traces the roots of rape in the perpetuation of these notions, too. Consequently, the clash between the qualities regarded as "supermasculine" in many societies – like aggression, force, power, strength, toughness, dominance, or competitiveness – and those regarded as characteristic to women – passivity, submissiveness or physical weakness – gives way to rape as an extreme acting out of this situation (Vinsel 1977: 186).

We consider that, since the distinct roles and qualities attributed to women and men are socially noticeable and socially distributed, it is only normal that these features

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find expression in women's and men's sexual behaviour. Rape is then not a rare and deviant act in the eighteenth-century England as far as the high-low social clash is concerned. On the contrary, it seems to have been embedded in the cultural norms that regulated the relationships men-women, because of those very norms regarding the female and male mystiques. The existence of these mystiques automatically made women more vulnerable to rape and men more aggressive in performing it.

Novels like *Moll Flanders* or *Pamela* also bring forward practices of the nobility that can be seen as crimes. For instance, the young aristocrats often forced women into having sex with them out of various reasons, like: the desire to have fun, the strong belief that they were entitled to claim control over the others, especially over women as they were considered to be weaker, or because of a powerful sexual drive. Of course, all of these are traces of a superficial or inappropriate education; squire B. himself hints at this and he is ready to tame his strong will according to the laws of reason. *Will* is in fact the key-word which best characterizes any nobleman's behaviour. Mr. B. displays the aristocratic ideology of *libertine jouissance*, and his sister makes it clear that his past was that of a libertine, as he sometimes amused himself in duels ("a Manslayer") and in amorous relationships (419).

Mullan (1990: 70) takes notice of the fact that *libertinism* was not only considered to be an act of subservience to over-insistent sexual urges, but it was a vice which in fact acknowledged and strengthened the consistency of virtue and feeling. It is not accidental then that the squire first notices Pamela among his dead mother's maids and appoints her to take care of his linen, a task which is the cause but also the result of his libertine way of life.

We People of Fortune, or such as are born to large Expectations, of both Sexes are generally educated wrong. You have occasionally touch'd upon this, Pamela, several times in your Journal, so justly, that I need say the less to you. We are usually so headstrong, so violent in our Wills, that we very little bear Control (443).

Terry Eagleton identifies the presence of the Don Juan myth in *Clarissa* (in Roberts 1986: 143), but we think that its presence can be felt in *Pamela* too, though squire B. is an atheist of love mainly because of the existing social constraints. Like Lovelace, squire B. is also a "patriarchal predator", a refuter of marriage and of the patriarchal order altogether.

Squire B.'s attempts to rape Pamela are mainly rooted in the education he had received, as we have commented above. Proud and possessing a violent will, he is all the more inflamed by Pamela's behaviour. She uses his name in an ill manner in her letters to her parents and he feels that she perverts his reputation "*in his House and out of his House*" (31). Moreover, the squire considers that, since Pamela is a servant, it is part of her duty to obey him, or his desires and orders. On the other hand, Pamela claims that she knows nothing of her "*Duty, but how to cherish her Virtue and good Name*" (31-32). In fact, this clash between her notion of duty and virtue and his lies at the basis of the harassing scenes in which he attempts to rape the young woman while she desperately tries to deter his intentions.

The ironic *discourse of the predator* is also supported by arguments taken from his readings. What he wants to suggest is that he, as an aristocrat, could never be blamed

as a rapist though he funnily takes the blame upon himself: "Who ever blamed *Lucretia*<sup>2</sup>, but the *Ravisher* only? and I am content to take all the Blame upon me; as I have already borne too great a Share for what I have deserved" (32). Mr. B. loves and desires what is virtuous and honest while he knows himself to be a varlet and, due to Pamela's resistance, he eventually confirms the integrity of what he seeks to destroy. M. Foucault outlines the transgressive force of the literary *libertine* so as to illuminate the paradox of *the relationship victimizer – victim*:

Underneath the great violator of the rules of marriage – stealer of wives, seducer of virgins, the shame of families, and an insult to husbands and fathers – another personage can be glimpsed: the individual driven, in spite of himself, by the sombre madness of sex. Underneath the libertine, the pervert. He deliberately breaks the law, but at the same time, something like a nature gone awry transports him far from all nature; his death is the moment when the supernatural return of the crime and its retribution thwarts the flight into counternature<sup>3</sup>.

However, in Richardson's novel, libertinism is not fully exercised by squire B. This happens because, from external reasons, he cannot be a real abductor since his morals are rehabilitated by Pamela's model of virtue, and because he does not find his retribution in death. Conversely, he changes his status from a libertine into a husband who admires his wife exactly for the same qualities for which he had previously snubbed her.

At times, the squire mocks at Pamela's education, for she is not like most of the other servants. Her "learning" is then another aspect to tease and attract him and, though she desperately devotes her life to save her virtue, his reaction to her bold retorts is to try to touch her body again and a chase starts, as on different occasions, when the squire follows the girl in various rooms of the house with the sole goal of raping her. It is somewhat awkward that she freely tells her parents about his freedoms:

He by Force kissed my Neck and Lips; (...) He then put his Hand in my Bosom, and the Indignation gave me double Strength, and I got loose from him, by a sudden Spring, and ran out of the Room; and the next Chamber being open, I made shift to get into it, and threw-to the Door, and the Key being on the Inside, it locked; but he followed me so close, he got hold of my Gown, and tore a Piece off, which hung without the Door (32).

The squire's education has taught him that he is the master of the entire household, whether we speak about objects or human beings. Thus, his promise towards his mother that he would take care of the young maid is understood as the desire to do whatever he pleases with her for "she is young, and every thing is pretty that is young" (51). Even the neighbouring ladies see Pamela as an object of desire and passion. What is more, Pamela is, again, a mere object and she is the one who, due to her beauty, attracts men: "Says Lady Towers, Can the pretty Image speak, Mrs. Jervis? I vow she has speaking Eyes! O you little Rogue, says she, and tapt me on the Cheek, *you seem born to undo, or to be undone!*" (53)

Pamela sadly comments upon the subordination of females to male will, especially when the women are servants working in the houses of powerful men. She realizes that she is all the more audacious and impudent for counteracting the squire's sexual abuse and, as we said, her courage and her verbal as well as behavioural resistance are only meant to incite the squire. The sexual struggle between women and men takes place at all the levels of the society where women are expected to be subdued to whatever men require. In a critical moment, Pamela exclaims "(...) what a World we live in! for it is grown more a Wonder that the Men are resisted, than that the Women comply. This, I suppose, makes me such a Sawce-box, and Boldface, and a Creature; and all because I won't be a Sawce-box and Boldface indeed" (71).

Further on, the squire uses the closet as a hiding place again from where he plans to attack the girl when she enters the room. Obscenity is generally associated to small, closed and obscure places. Significantly, the obscurity and the narrowness of such a space seem to symbolize the squire's indistinct personality and his doubtful actions. Similarly, he tries to trap the victim in her bed as he can control and put her out of action more easily in a fixed and rather small space. Sometimes the girl is so vigilant after the "Closet-work" that she unconsciously starts to take part in his hunting game, whereas the watched one turns into a watcher – and has the control – even though only for some moments: "(...) it seems he said, he thought two or three times to have burst out upon me; but he could not stand it, and wish'd I might not know he was there. But I tript up again so nimbly (...) that I just saw his Back" (81).

As we have said, the squire claims that it is only a duty for Pamela to comply with his requests of a sexual kind. Her postponement by confrontation is repaid by a harsher attack when the victim must live a time of punishment. The squire feels that physical constraint is the only means to make Pamela accept his list of proposals. Her body is at stake here in this negotiation of virtue and we can observe some stages that occur in any rape: *the body* is slyly watched, pursued and bullied gradually, and then it is sequestered and deprived of the possibility to counterattack or defend itself. Similarly, in this "rape scene", Pamela's hands are secured tight by her master and his assistant, Mrs. Jewkes. It is only even stranger that the assistant is a woman for she does not protect the other woman who is a victim but, on the contrary, she encourages the squire to do his job without any remorse.

But he kissed me with frightful Vehemence; and then his Voice broke upon me like a Clap of Thunder. Now, Pamela, said he, is the dreadful Time of Reckoning come, that I have threaten'd. – I screamed out in such a manner, as never any body heard the like. But there was nobody to help me: And both my hands were secured, as I said (203).

For Pamela, this moment of physical intimidation is paralleled by a moment of utter disgrace for her, choosing death rather than the perversion of her virtue. It is the moment which is of utmost importance for the subsequent evolution of her life. She finds the power to invoke the heavenly assistance when confronted with the rapist, as if hoping to dissuade him from his intentions: "O God! My God! This *Time*, this *one Time*! deliver me from this Distress! or strike me dead this Moment; and then I scream'd again

and again" (203). Pamela would prefer an alliance with God rather than rape which would coincide with a loss of virtue and purity, and she strongly acts against squire B.'s attempts to suppress her desire for sexual and moral independence. In Roberts' terms (1986: 142), this rejection is suggestive of the refusal of the political society under the forms of sexual oppression, bourgeois patriarchy, and libertine aristocracy altogether.

When the squire changes his strategy Pamela still fears that he looks for another occasion to rape her. Though wholly naïve in worldly manners and in the schemes of the rich, Pamela is witty enough to anticipate a future re-enactment of his attempts. Yet, though frightened, she no longer rejects his kisses, which shows that his new way of approaching her, namely with kindness and loving words, does have an echo in her heart.

(...) he seems to take another Method, and what I am more afraid of, because, may-be, *he may watch an Opportunity*, and join Force with it, on Occasion, when I am least prepar'd: for now, he seems to abound with Kindness, and talks of Love, without Reserve, and makes nothing of allowing himself in the Liberty of kissing me (...) (208).

As a fact, he blames her charm for his strong attraction to her and her beauty will always make her a victim of the opposite sex. By kissing her and putting his arm around her waist (208), he breaks his promise of keeping away from her *intimate space*, from her "honest Body", thus foregrounding that his intentions were never truly altered. In fact, he even pretends to value her judgment since he makes her his adviser regarding their relationship and he suggests once more that his obsession with her inevitably brings about the physical possession of her body: "I must have you" (213). *His discourse* depends very much on the use and functions of *modal verbs* (214, 216-219) which mainly show the two characters' contradictory states, shifting from uncertainty and impossibility ("I cannot say what you *ought to do*") to certainty and strong volition ("I must love you", "this I will say", "I will believe you"). This use of words also shows that there is another stage in their relationship, as suggested by the meanings of the modal verbs above. The *discourse of modality* skilfully discloses the game between truthfulness and the appearance of truthfulness, possibility and impossibility, or between certainty and uncertainty as related to their communication. The end of Volume I reveals the two main characters in the position of still building and negotiating their identities and interests in connection with each other, in a space of transition between reality and the appearance of reality:

(1) But, my dear Girl, what *must we do* about the World, and the World's Censure? – Indeed, I *cannot marry!* (218)

But sure, at least, he *must be* sincere for the Time! – He *could not be* such a practiced Dissembler! – If he *could*, O how desperately wicked is the Heart of Man! – And where *could* he *learn* all these barbarous Arts? – If so, it *must be* native surely to the Sex! (219)

The return of the formerly prosecuted object to the scene of the confinement is very important for Mr. B. since he interprets it as a sign of love. Rape is no longer possible

or threatening for it is love (an “irresistible Impulse”, 270, for Pamela) now that brings them closer, and Pamela even returns willingly to her Persecutor. Subsequently, Mr. B. often comes up to Pamela’s room with no intentions of rape and they share her private space peacefully. Further on it is even more explicit that the “Violator” of her innocence became a true “Friend” and “Protector” (333), the decisive step in fulfilling that *modal certainty and determination* expressed by his “I must have you” (213) being represented by their exogamous marriage<sup>4</sup>.

The manifestation of *rape* as exertion of *social power*<sup>5</sup> through physical intimidation, as externalization of frustration and anger, as perversion of the mind or as revenge reflects the trajectory of the characters through the novel and we think that this is the pivot which best shows the evolution of the protagonists’ bond. However, as a conclusion, we cannot speak about real rape in *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* because, as the title itself suggests, the heroine’s struggle to keep her virtue intact is to be rewarded with marriage. The well-planned rape never takes place and Mr. B. fails mainly because of one essential reason: he is unable to carry his action to an end, always being daunted by the victim’s fits. Maybe he could not have carried his intentions to an end even if the girl hadn’t fainted repeatedly.

If at the end of *Clarissa* both the female and the male protagonist must die as offenders of the social order, seeking the space outside this mundane world, in *Pamela* the union seems possible within the space regulated by the social norms. The new alliance between the low and the high classes is symbolically revealed by means of the marriage between Pamela and Mr. B. and this becomes possible only when the male ceases to attack Pamela’s “inviolable self” (Roberts 1986: 143) and chooses another approach, namely the Christian marriage.

- 1 Vinsel reviews two books on rape: S. Brownmiller’s *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. 1975. New York: Simon and Schuster, and D. Russell’s work *The Politics of Rape: the Victim’s Perspective*. 1975. New York: Stein and Day.
- 2 A virtuous Roman woman, raped by a son of Tarquinius Superbus, whose suicide led to the expulsion of the Tarquins and the establishment of the Roman republic. <http://www.infoplease.com/dictionary/Lucretia>
- 3 Foucault, M. 1979. *The History of Sexuality: Vol. I. An Introduction*. (transl. by R. Hurley). New York: Vintage, 39, *apud* Mullan, J. 1990. *op. cit.* 71.
- 4 For a comprehensive analysis of the marital bond as a type of exogamous relationship also see Culea, M. 2007. Eighteenth-Century English Domesticity and the Virtues of Rational Marriage. *Cultural Perspectives* 12, Bacău: Universitatea din Bacău, 57-73.
- 5 If Vinsel approaches the problem of rape mainly from a psychological standpoint, Terry Eagleton (in Roberts, 1986) looks into the matter from a psychoanalytical but also from a cultural point of view. For the author, rape is not a disease but a symbol of the socio-cultural relationships between the two major cultural classes presented in Richardson’s novels, namely the aristocracy and the low classes. Accordingly, the obsession of rape works as a symbol for discrediting the aristocratic ideology and cultural hegemony. This is because the novels themselves became a part of the struggle between social classes and thus they gained an ideological use (Roberts 1986: 140). Eagleton also speaks about the *sex/text metaphor* (Roberts 1986: 141) as related to Richardson’s novels, which derives from the fact that writing replaces the reality. Thus, the progression of the text coincides with the deferment of sexual contact and the rape, in *Pamela*, is never represented as it never takes place. In fact, the text stops when sexual contact becomes possible. Moreover, the imminent rape is felt as destruction and is accompanied by hysterical gestures, yet Pamela becomes more balanced when the rape is replaced by institutionalized sexual intercourse.

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## SUMMARY

**MEANS OF EXERCISING POWER IN SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S *PAMELA; OR, VIRTUE REWARDED***

The article briefly presents an example of literary representations of power by means of sexual bullying. In *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* by S. Richardson the conflict between the social classes is symbolically mirrored by way of sexual struggles between male masters and female servants. We trace here a game between the victimizer and the victim where the purpose of the frolicking scenes seems to be merely sexual predation. At a deeper level, the sexual struggle between the protagonists speaks of the more general social pillaging of the poor by the rich in the eighteenth-century England. Finally, we show the way in which the conflict gradually gives way to peaceful cohabitation under the form of an exogamous alliance.

**KEYWORDS:** physical and psychic conflict, rape, power relations, female/ male mystiques, the libertine, the predator, sexual struggle, modalising desire.



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## ■ THE PARADIGM OF *CULTURAL HYBRIDITY* IN THE POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE

A key text in the development of hybridity theory is Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) which analyses the liminality of hybridity as a paradigm of colonial anxiety. His key argument is that colonial hybridity, as a cultural form, produced ambivalence in the colonial masters and as such altered the authority of power. Bhabha's arguments have become key in the discussion of hybridity. In fact the concept of hybridity occupies a central place in postcolonial discourse. This critique of cultural imperialist hybridity meant that the rhetoric of hybridity became more concerned with challenging essentialism and has been applied to sociological theories of identity, multiculturalism, and racism. Within European culture, the construction of *Otherness* has its own history, developing a model of 'travelling cultures'. There is also a nostalgic attempt to revivify pure and indigenous regional cultures in reaction against what are perceived as threatening forms of cultural hybridity.

### 1. THE NEGATIVE LIMITS OF HYBRIDITY IN THE COLONIAL DISCOURSE

One of the most disputed terms in postcolonial studies, 'hybridity' commonly refers to "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation" (Ashcroft 2003: 118). Hybridisation takes many forms including cultural, political and linguistic. Hybridity as a concern for racial purity responds clearly to the zeitgeist of colonialism where, despite the backdrop of the humanitarian age of enlightenment, social hierarchy was beyond contention as was the position of Europeans at its summit. The social transformations that followed the ending of colonial mandates, rising immigration, and economic liberalisation profoundly altered the use and understanding of the term hybridity.

Robert Young has remarked on the negativity sometimes associated with the term hybridity. He notes how it was influential in imperial and colonial discourse in giving damaging reports on the union of different races. He argued that at the turn of the century, 'hybridity' had become part of a colonialist discourse of racism. In Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea*, to be a Creole or a 'hybrid' was essentially negative. They were reported in the book as lazy and the dangers of such hybrids inevitably

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reverting to their 'primitive' traditions is highlighted throughout the novel. In reading Young alongside Rhys, it becomes easy to see the negative connotations that the term once had. Ashcroft says how "hybridity and the power it releases may well be seen as the characteristic feature and contribution of the post-colonial, allowing a means of evading the replication of the binary categories of the past and developing new anti-monolithic models of cultural exchange and growth" (Ashcroft 1995: 183).

The initial use of the term hybridity in wider discourse was as a stigma in association with colonial ideas about racial purity and a horror of miscegenation. In the colonial experience the children of white male colonisers and female 'native' peoples were assigned a different (and inferior) status in colonial society (a society which refused to even consider the possibility of white women with black men).

Despite this loaded historical past, Papastergiadis reminds us of the emancipative potential of negative terms. He poses the question "should we use only words with a pure and inoffensive history, or should we challenge essentialist models of identity by taking on and then subverting their own vocabulary." (Papastergiadis 1997: 258). It is "celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of *in-betweenness*, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference." (Hoogvelt 1997: 158) This is particularly so in Bhabha's discussion of cultural hybridity. Bhabha has developed his concept of hybridity from literary and cultural theory to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity. For Bhabha, hybridity is the process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonised (the *Other*) within a singular universal framework, but then fails producing something familiar, but at the same time genuine new. Bhabha contends that a new hybrid identity or subject-position emerges from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised challenging the validity and authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity. Hybridity is positioned as antidote to essentialism, or "the belief in invariable and fixed properties which define the 'whatness' of a given entity." (Fuss 1991: xi). In postcolonial discourse, the notion "that any culture or identity is pure or essential is disputable" (Ashcroft *et al.* 1995: 190). Bhabha himself is aware of the dangers of fixity and fetishism of identities within binary colonial thinking arguing that "all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity." (Rutherford 1990: 211). This new mutation replaces the established pattern with a 'mutual and mutable' (Bhabha 1994: 184) representation of cultural difference that is positioned *inbetween* the coloniser and colonised. For Bhabha it is the indeterminate spaces in-between subject-positions that are lauded as the locale of the disruption and displacement of hegemonic colonial narratives of cultural structures and practices. He posits hybridity as such a form of liminal or in-between space, where the 'cutting edge of translation and negotiation' (Bhabha 1996: 190) occurs and which he terms the *third space*. This is a space intrinsically critical of essentialist positions of identity and a conceptualization of 'original or originary culture':

For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'Third Space', which enables other positions to emerge. (Rutherford 1990: 211)

## 1.1. Hybridity as “third space”

Thus, the third space is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a *productive*, and not merely reflective, space that engenders new *possibility*. It is an ‘interruptive, interrogative, and enunciative’ (Bhabha 1994: 189) space of new forms of cultural meaning and production blurring the limitations of existing boundaries and calling into question established categorisations of culture and identity. According to him, this hybrid third space is an *ambivalent* site where cultural meaning and representation have no ‘primordial unity or fixity’. (Bhabha 1994: 200). The concept of the third space is submitted as useful for analysing the enunciation, transgression and subversion of dualistic categories going beyond the realm of colonial binary thinking and oppositional positioning. Despite the exposure of the third space to contradictions and ambiguities, it provides a spatial politics of inclusion rather than exclusion that “initiates new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation.” (Bhabha 1994: 187)

The *hybrid identity* is positioned within this third space, as ‘lubricant’ (Papastergiadis 1997: 260) in the conjunction of cultures. The hybrid’s potential is with its innate knowledge of ‘transculturation’ (Taylor 1991: 210), its ability to transverse both cultures and to translate, negotiate and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion. They have encoded within them a counterhegemonic agency. At the point at which the coloniser presents a normalising, hegemonic practice, the hybrid strategy opens up a third space of/for rearticulation of negotiation and meaning.

In his article entitled *Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences*, Bhabha stresses the interdependence of coloniser and colonized, in terms of hybridity. He argues that all cultural systems and statements are constructed in what he calls the ‘Third Space of Enunciation’. In accepting this argument, we begin to understand why claims to the inherent purity and originality of cultures are ‘untenable’, urging us into this space in an effort to open up the notion of an international culture “not based on exoticism or multi-culturalism of the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s hybridity”. In bringing this to the next stage, he hopes that it is in this space “that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others. And by exploring this ‘Third Space’, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves”. He goes as far as to see this imperial delirium forming gaps within the English text, gaps which are:

the signs of a discontinuous history, an estrangement of the English book. They mark the disturbance of its authoritative representations by the uncanny forces of race, sexuality, violence, cultural and even climatic differences which emerge in the colonial discourse as the mixed and split texts of hybridity. If the English book is read as a production of hybridity, then it no longer simply commands authority. (Bhabha 1994: 190)

## 1.2. “Mimicry” as a negative form of hybridity

His analysis, which is largely based on the Lacanian conceptualization of mimicry as camouflage focuses on colonial ambivalence. On the one hand, he sees the colonizer

as a snake in the grass who, speaks in “a tongue that is forked,” and produces a mimetic representation that “...emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge”. Bhabha recognizes then that colonial power carefully establishes highly-sophisticated strategies of control and dominance; that, while it is aware of its ephemerality, it is also anxious to create the means that guarantee its economic, political and cultural endurance, through the conception, in Macaulay’s words in his “Minute on Indian Education” (1835), “of a class of interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” – that is through the reformation of that category of people referred to by Frantz Fanon in the phrase, “black skin/white masks,” or as “mimic men” by V.S.Naipaul. On the other hand, Bhabha immediately diverts his pertinent analysis by shifting the superlative certainty of the colonizer and the strategic effectiveness of his political intentions into an alarming uncertainty. Macaulay’s Indian interpreters along with Naipaul’s mimic men, he asserts, by the very fact that they are authorized versions of otherness, “part-objects of a metonymy of colonial desire, end up emerging as inappropriate colonial subjects... [who], by now producing a partial vision of the colonizer’s presence, de-stabilize the colonial subjectivity, unsettle its authoritative centrality, and corrupt its discursive purity. Actually, he adds, mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents*... and in that very act of repetition, originality is lost, and centrality de-centred. What is left, according to Bhabha, is the trace, the impure, the artificial, the second-hand. He analyses the slippages in colonial political discourse, and reveals that the Janus-faced attitudes towards the colonized lead to the production of a mimicry that presents itself more in the form of a “menace” than “resemblance”; more in the form of a rupture than consolidation. Hybridity subverts the narratives of colonial power and dominant cultures. The series of inclusions and exclusions on which a dominant culture is premised are deconstructed by the very entry of the formerly-excluded subjects into the mainstream discourse. The dominant culture is contaminated by the linguistic and racial differences of the native self. Hybridity can thus be seen, in Bhabha’s interpretation, as a counter-narrative, a critique of the canon and its exclusion of other narratives. In other words, the hybridity-acclaimers want to suggest first, that the colonialist discourse’s ambivalence is a conspicuous illustration of its uncertainty; and second, that the migration of yesterday’s “savages” from their peripheral spaces to the homes of their “masters” underlies a blessing invasion that, by “Third-Worlding” the center, creates “fissures” within the very structures that sustain it.

In colonial discourse, hybridity is a term of abuse for those who are products of miscegenation, mixed-breeds. It is imbued in nineteenth-century eugenicist and scientific-racist thought.

## 2. “HYBRIDITY” AS A STRATEGY OF SURVIVAL IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

In its most recent descriptive and realist usage, hybridity appears as a convenient category at ‘the edge’ or contact point of diaspora, describing cultural mixture where the diasporized meets the host in the scene of migration. Nikos Papastergiadis makes this

link at the start of his book, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, where he mentions the 'twin processes of globalization and migration' (Papastergiadis 2000: 3). He outlines a development which moves from the assimilation and integration of migrants into the host society of the nation-state towards something more complex in the metropolitan societies of today. Speaking primarily of Europe, the Americas and Australia, Papastergiadis argues that as some members of migrant communities came to prominence 'within the cultural and political circles of the dominant society' they 'began to argue in favour of new models of representing the process of cultural interaction, and to demonstrate the negative consequences of insisting upon the denial of the emergent forms of cultural identity' (Papastergiadis 2000: 3). Hybridity has been a key part of this new modelling, and so it is logically entwined within the coordinates of migrant identity and difference, same or not same, host and guest. Worrying that assertions of identity and difference are celebrated too quickly as resistance, in either the nostalgic form of 'traditional survivals' or mixed in a 'new world of hybrid forms' (Clifford 2000: 103), Clifford sets up an opposition (tradition/hybrid) that will become central to our critique of the terms.

There is much more that hybridity seems to contain: 'A quick glance at the history of hybridity reveals a bizarre array of ideas' (Papastergiadis 2000: 169). In addition to the general positions set out above; hybridity is an evocative term for the formation of identity; it is code for creativity and for translation. In Bhabha's terms 'hybridity is a camouflage' (Bhabha 1994: 193) and, provocatively he offers 'hybridity as heresy' (226), as a disruptive and productive category. It is 'how newness enters the world' (227) and it is bound up with a 'process of translating and transvaluing cultural differences' (252).

With relation to diaspora, the most conventional accounts assert hybridity as the process of cultural mixing where the diasporic arrivals adopt aspects of the host culture and rework, reform and reconfigure this in production of a new hybrid culture or 'hybrid identities' (Chambers 1996: 50). Whether talk of such identities is coherent or not hybridity is better conceived of as a process. Kobena Mercer writes of 'the hybridized terrain of diasporic culture' (Mercer 1994: 254) and even the older terminologies of syncretism and mixture evoke the movement of 'hybridization' rather than a stress on fixed identity. Hybridity in postcolonial theory is associated with the idea of identity as a fluid, constantly shifting process. Finally, a turn of the millennium volume *Hybridity and its Discontents* is able to describe hybridity as: 'a term for a wide range of social and cultural phenomenon involving "mixing", [it] has become a key concept within cultural criticism and post-colonial theory' (Brah/Coombs 2000: 125).

### 3. DECONSTRUCTING HYBRIDITY BETWEEN PURITY AND AUTHENTICITY

Even as a process in translation or in formation, the idea of 'hybrid identities' (Chambers 1996: 50) relies upon the proposition of non-hybridity or some kind of normative insurance. Hybridity theorists have had to grapple with this problem with a revealing degree of agitation. Gilroy, for example, has moved away from an allegiance to hybridity and declared:

Who [...] wants purity? ... the idea of hybridity, of intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities... I think there isn't any purity; there isn't any anterior purity... that's why I try not to use the word hybrid ... Cultural production is not like mixing cocktails. (Gilroy 1994: 54-55)

Gilroy clearly recognizes the problem of purity when he laments 'the lack of a means of adequately describing, let alone theorizing, intermixture, fusion and syncretism without suggesting the existence of anterior "uncontaminated" purities'. He is correct that the descriptive use of hybridity evokes, counterfactually, a stable and prior non-mixed position, to which 'presumably it might one day be possible to return' (Gilroy 2000: 250). Gilroy continues, this time with the arguments of Young firmly in his sights:

Whether the process of mixture is presented as fatal or redemptive, we must be prepared to give up the illusion that cultural and ethnic purity has ever existed, let alone provided a foundation for civil society. The absence of an adequate conceptual and critical language is undermined and complicated by the absurd charge that attempts to employ the concept of hybridity are completely undone by the active residues of that term's articulation within the technical vocabularies of nineteenth-century racial science. (Gilroy 2000: 250-251)

Hall also reacts, naming Young, admittedly in defence against an even more sweeping condemnation of postcolonial theory, yet significantly with the penultimate words of a volume entitled *The Postcolonial Question*, where he writes:

a very similar line of argument is to be found ... [in] the inexplicably simplistic charge in Robert Young's *Colonial Desire* (1995) that the post-colonial critics are "complicit" with Victorian racial theory because both sets of writers deploy the same term - hybridity - in their discourse. (Hall 1996: 259)

The driving imperative is to salvage centred, bounded and coherent identities: placed identities for placeless times. This calls the search for purity and purified identity. Purified identities are constructed through the purification of space, through the maintenance of the territorial boundaries and frontiers. We can also talk of 'a geography of rejection which appears to correspond to the purity of antagonistic communities'. Purified identities are also at the heart of empire. Purification aims to secure both protection from and positional superiority over, the external Other. Anxiety and power feed off each other. In this case, William Connolly argues:

When you remain within the established field of identity and difference, you become a bearer of strategies to protect identity through devaluation of the other; but if you transcend the field of identities through which the other is constituted, you lose the identity and standing needed to communicate with those you sought to inform. Identity and difference are bound together. It is impossible to reconstitute the relation to the second without confounding the experience of the first. (Connolly 1991: 30)

In conclusion, Stuart Hall argues that ‘unsettling, recombination, hybridisation and “cut-and-mix” carries with it a transformed relation to Tradition, one in which ‘there can be no simple “return” [to] or “recovery” of the ancestral past which is not re-experienced through the categories of the present’ (Hall 1996: 30). The crossing of boundaries brings about a complexity of ambivalent identities and also a sense of the permeability and contingency of cultures. It allows us ‘to see others not as ontologically given but as historically constituted’ and, thus, can ‘erode the exclusivist biases we so often ascribe to cultures, our own not least’ (Said 1993: 225).

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## SUMMARY

### THE PARADIGM OF *CULTURAL HYBRIDITY* IN THE POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE

In a broad view, culture has two primary operative functions: one is to endorse the 'fixed tablet of tradition' and the second is to provide a location for the progression of culture through generations and time. This paper refers to the process of cultural change and hybridization, one way to distinguish between these two cultural forces is that fixed tradition is not geographically, whereas as hybridisation is often specifically related to place, locale and situation. The rhetoric of hybridity or the *hybrid talk* is associated with the emergence of postcolonial discourse and its critiques of cultural imperialism. This stage in the history of hybridity is characterised by literature and theory that focuses on the effects of mixture upon identity and culture. Cultural hybridity produces new forms of alterity and is inherent in processes of social and cultural dynamics. A sharp contrast between cultures and hybrids is the notion of choice in cultural referent. This choice is significant because in cultural hybrids, traditions are loosened, and the capacity to make choices allowed. Cultural hybridity therefore, represents a cultural dynamism. This ferment of culture is found on the borders, in the overlaps, and the in-between places between two or more cultures.

**KEYWORDS:** cultural hybridity, alterity, transcultural forms, colonial discourse, postcolonial, ambivalence.



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## ■ TRENDY CHANGES OR CHANGING TRENDS: THE PRONUNCIATION OF BRITISH ENGLISH

*The text that follows is a scientific interview with John C. Wells, Emeritus Professor of Phonetics in the University of London and former Head of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at University College London (UCL). He is a Fellow of the British Academy. His interests centre on the phonetic and phonological description of languages but also extend to lexicography and language teaching. Until retirement in 2006 he was the director of UCL's annual Summer Course in English Phonetics. He is a frequent contributor to BBC radio (R2, R4, R5, BBC English), and writes a daily phonetic blog (<http://phonetic-blog.blogspot.com/>).*

*As the world's leading authority on English pronunciation Professor Wells comments on the relevance and speed of change in the domain of the phonetics of English, as well as on the pronunciation preferences in Britain. Among his greatest achievements is his pronouncing dictionary, entitled Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (LPD), now available in its third edition (2008). He has published extensively on general phonetics and English phonetics, especially on the dialectal variation in English (Accents of English, 1982) and the intonation of English (English Intonation: an Introduction, 2006).*

**Biljana Čubrović [BČ]:** The tendency for change in BrE pronunciation is obviously one of the topics which have recently attracted a lot of attention. What do you think about it, and how do you perceive these modifications which have been happening in the last twenty or so years? Have you noticed any changes in your most recent pronunciation polls that you have worked on for the latest edition of LPD?

**Professor John C. Wells [JCW]:** All languages change. English has gradually changed as the years pass and as generation succeeds generation. But we mustn't exaggerate the speed of change. Although there are indeed age-related differences in the pronunciation of English, the phonetic **system** remains essentially the same. We still have the same vowel system, the same consonant system, the same system of stress and intonation. Things like weak forms and vowel reduction (which many EFL learners find very difficult) remain virtually unchanged.

In any case, twenty years — less than a single generation — is too short a time to observe any substantial change in language. At most we might be able to observe slight percentage differences between generations in this or that phenomenon.

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Over longer periods there may be subtle or not-so-subtle changes in the way particular vowels or consonants are pronounced (for example, the TRAP vowel becoming more open and [a]-like in BrE, though not in AmE; or the extension of the range of T glottalling to new phonetic environments).

In many cases we are dealing not with the sudden appearance of some new phonetic phenomenon, but with a gradual change in the social evaluation of something that has been present for a long time. For example, a glottal stop for /t/ in a phrase such as *Show me what I did wrong* is now sometimes to be heard in RP-style pronunciation, whereas previously it was confined to local accents. (I would still not recommend it to learners of EFL.)

Serbian students of English should still concentrate on such basic matters as getting the difference between the DRESS and TRAP vowels, as heard in minimal pairs such as *pet-pat*, *bend-band*. The distinction between these two vowels shows no tendency whatever to disappear.

Most of the pronunciation poll findings reported in LPD relate to individual words, individual lexical items. These are words which people disagree on how to pronounce. As you can see from the percentages and graphs in the dictionary, there are often swings in people's preferences over time. When I pronounce the word *Asia* I have a voiceless fricative in the middle, but a majority of younger people prefer it with a voiced fricative.

A few of the findings do relate to general trends. For example, an affricate [tʃ] in words such as *tune*, *Tuesday*, *student* does not feel right to most people of my generation, but many younger people use this pronunciation as a matter of course.

BČ: Let me go back to a topic that I find most intriguing. You have mentioned T glottalling as a process which tends to spread to the phonetic contexts other than the original ones. How far do you think T glottalling can be incorporated into RP, knowing that it originates from local accents? Can any other local pronunciation features claim to be accepted by RP speakers?

JCW: Many, perhaps most, of the innovations that have come into RP over the last five hundred years seem to have originated in popular London speech. The historical evidence is perhaps not conclusive, but I strongly suspect that the diphthonging of the FACE and GOAT vowels (which were previously monophthongs) originated as a London working-class characteristic and then spread not only geographically but, more importantly, socially.

Concerning /t/: syllable-finally before a following obstruent, as in *not bad*, *quite good*, glottalling of /t/ (replacement or at least reinforcement) is entirely normal in everyday RP. People just don't notice it as anything unusual. Before a following vowel, however, as in *quite easy*, *that is*, people would be much more aware of it and most RP speakers would not use it. Yet this is the typical phonetic environment in which it seems to be becoming more frequent.

BČ: What are your views on similar phonetic processes like L vocalization. Is it strong enough so as to catch on among the ever-increasing population of non-native speakers of English?

JCW: Decades ago my predecessor A.C. Gimson pointed out that L vocalization adjacent to labials — as in *tables*, *careful* — is quite frequent in relaxed RP. There are speakers who do it virtually everywhere except before vowel sounds, others who

do not do it at all. There is absolutely no need for an EFL learner to make any special effort to adopt it. On the other hand, those who find dark /l/ difficult might well consider using [o] instead. Probably native speakers won't notice anything odd. It is better for a Japanese learner, for example, to pronounce *milk* as [miok] rather than as [miɾɯkwɯ].

BĈ: Which of these should be legitimately taught to non-native speakers?

JCW: This is a matter for the teacher to decide. My job is to describe reality as accurately as I can. Yours is to teach EFL. None of these recent trends is a *requirement* for the EFL speaker.

BĈ: Do you consider pronunciation change predictable at all?

JCW: Overall, no. We cannot predict in any detail what any language will be like in a hundred or five hundred years' time. It seems a safe bet, however, that various English pronunciation features now characterizing London working-class speech will in due course spread out geographically and socially, as has been happening for the last five hundred years and more. And probably American English will exert a growing influence on world English.

BĈ: You have raised the topic of the increasing influence of American English on world English. Having in mind that one of your professional interests is dialectal variation and that you studied it in detail with regard to English, can you remember the first situation which struck you as an instance of Americanization of British English?

JCW: Vocabulary, obviously. As a boy I remember noticing that various words marked as AmE in my *Concise Oxford Dictionary* were words I was accustomed to using myself. In pronunciation, I suppose it is t-voicing (as in *better*) that first comes to mind.

BĈ: Do laymen pay attention to pronunciation changes?

JCW: They pay little or no attention to general trends. They are more likely to comment on the pronunciation of individual words, such as *scone* or *applicable* or *contribute*. The only phonetic technical term in general use is "glottal stop", but people are often quite bad at identifying glottal stops in speech.

BĈ: The issue of the use of glottal stops with non-native speakers is still shunned. Do you think it is time to remove this barrier?

JCW: You may know better than I do what is "shunned". Think of the Icelandic singer Björk, with her excellent English: she uses plenty of glottal stops. On the other hand the pronunciation of pop singers would be expected to be different from that of, say, diplomats.

One warning: do not glottalize *voiced* consonants. It sounds very odd to have a glottal stop for /d/ in *bad things*. In my experience, NNS' problems with glottalling tend to be those of overdoing it rather than ignoring it.

BĈ: Have these topics received any attention in the media? (The Guardian is very frequently mentioned in your blog.)

JCW: The Guardian is the paper I read every day, so I do sometimes pick up stories of interest from it and discuss them in my phonetic blog ([phonetic-blog.blogspot.com](http://phonetic-blog.blogspot.com)). Lots of educated people are very interested in language, and often have strong views on points of grammar, pronunciation, or usage.

BĈ: How different are these journalistic views from a phonetician's standpoint?

JCW: Considerably. For example, the term “Estuary English” is something popularized by journalists: phoneticians and sociolinguists deny that any such coherent thing exists. What we have is a number of different sound changes spreading geographically and, importantly, socially — but at different rates from one another. The idea that the whole of the southeast of England has been suddenly swamped by a single new variety of English is simply wrong.

BČ: Would you expect any of the innovative features of Estuary English or southern British variety to be incorporated into standard English in the future? Could you enumerate and illustrate some of these?

JCW: History suggests that probably most of will be. But no one can predict the future. There is always countervailing pressure from the spelling system, e.g. “if it’s spelt t, it ought to be pronounced as a proper t”.

BČ: Apart from segmental changes, could you comment on the suprasegmental variation within in Britain? Which tones are most likely to gradually disappear from everyday use and which ones are most beneficial for EFL learners and should be insisted upon? What is your advice to Slavic or Serbian EFL learners?

JCW: I don’t expect any tones to “disappear from general use”. I think learners ought to be able to make and distinguish a fall, a rise, and a fall-rise. Intonation is largely the same in Serbian and English, but not entirely so: for example, English uses many more fall-rises. However for most learners, including Slavs, learning tones is not nearly as important as knowing which words to accent (where to place the nucleus).

BČ: And finally, do you think English is different from other languages when it comes to current pronunciation changes?

JCW: I don’t really know enough about other languages to say. There are thousands of languages in the world, and I only know a handful of them. I’m certainly aware of gradual changes in French and German, for example, and I expect the collapse of “Serbo-Croatian” has stimulated changes in the Serbian norm. So probably English is not different from other languages. However, we could perhaps say that the attitude of native speakers of English towards their language is less authoritarian than that of native speakers of French and German, and this may lead to a readier acceptance of innovation.

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## ■ DUGO OČEKIVANI UDŽBENIK IZ SINTAKSE

Biljana Mišić Ilić, *Syntax for EFL students*, Niš, Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, 2008, 353

Udžbenik *Syntax for EFL students* dr Biljane Mišić Ilić predstavlja dugo očekivan naučno-stručni tekst koji će studentima davati prijeko potrebna znanja iz moderne sintakse engleskog jezika, a nastavnicima i profesorima omogućiti olakšano kretanje kroz jednu lingvističku oblast koja, po definiciji, predstavlja vrhunski izazov u udžbeničkoj literaturi.

*Syntax for EFL students* sastoji se od uvoda, deset poglavlja, glosara sintaksičkih termina, indeksa i bibliografije, što se sve sabira na 338 strana velikog formata. Knjiga je strukturirana tako da u uvodu i definicijama daje pregled sintakse i vezu sa drugim lingvističkim disciplinama kroz kratki prikaz pristupa koji obuhvata tradicionalni opis, transformaciono-generativnu gramatiku, funkcionalni i strukturalni pristup. Navedeni pristupi služe kao platforma na osnovu koje se profiliše dominantna teorija udžbenika, izabira model sintaksičke analize i prezentacije, sve s ciljem da se udžbenik pedagoško-metodski valjano primjeni i zadovolji akademski nivo na koji pledira. Drugo poglavlje bavi se sintaksičkim analizama i osnovnim sintaksičkim jedinicama, što otvara put ka identifikovanju kategorija osnovnih sintaksičkih struktura, a to su strukture predikacije koje se obrađuju u trećem poglavlju, zatim strukture modifikacije obrađene u petom poglavlju. Strukturama komplementacije bavi se šesto poglavlje, a strukturama koordinacije sedmo poglavlje. U četvrtom poglavlju govori se o pozicionim klasama nominala i verbala, a u osmom poglavlju obrađuju se neposredni konstituenti. Dva posljednja poglavlja, deveto i deseto, bave se transformaciono-generativnom i funkcionalnom gramatikom.

Na tržištu dosta je knjiga i udžbeničke literature iz oblasti sintakse koje se nadmeću za široku prihvaćenost na studijama engleskog jezika i katedrama anglistike. Teorija na koju se pozivaju uglavnom je transformaciono-generativne provenijencije, a teoretičar kojeg nijedan autor udžbenika ne zaobilazi u svom predgovoru jeste Noam Čomski. Ono po čemu se razlikuju jeste interpretacija teorije i njena doziranost, modifikacija lingvističkog modela i stepen divergencije od izvornog djela N. Čomskog. Razlikuju se i po nivou pedagoške primjerenosti jer ti udžbenici imaju razne namjene i nose sa sobom latentno nadmetanje. Tako je Bas Artsova argumentacija (*Sintaksa engleskog jezika i argumentacija*, 2001) „inspirisana tekućom teorijom Čomskog“, R. Džejkobs

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se „snažno naslanja na značajni dio istraživanja koji je uslijedio iz Čomskijevog [sic!] veoma uticajnog djela *Predavanja iz upravljanja i vezivanja* u svojoj *Sintaksi engleskog jezika* (1995), dok C. L. Bejker u svojoj *Sintaksi engleskog jezika* (1989) objašnjava da je „teorija kojoj pripada knjiga generativni pristup, čiji je začetnik bio Noam Čomski“. Tu je i Radfordov minimalizam, a Lilijan Haheman i njene sintakse da i ne pominjemo.

Pobrojane knjige iz oblasti sintakse navedenih autora predstavljaju neke od dominantnih udžbenika danas u svijetu, no, one se međusobno značajno razlikuju, stoga nisu uzajamno zamjenjive. Uz to, po pravilu, pretpostavljaju dosta visoko postojeće znanje studenta sa kojeg se dalje ide u teoriju i njenu elaboraciju. Nijedan udžbenik, pojedinačno uzev, nije primjeren našim planovima, posebno programima, i nijedan nema pedagošku prijemčivost koja bi garantovala studentu, budućem profesoru, da može bez većih poteškoća da takvu materiju predaje srednjoškolicima.

Zasigurno je da je sve ovo dr Biljana Mišić Ilić imala na umu kada je pisala, slobodno možemo tako da ga nazovemo, svoj udžbenik *Syntax for EFL students*. Njeno osnovno teorijsko opredjeljenje bilo je transformaciono-generativna gramatika, ali sinteza koju je napravila u ovom udžbeniku predstavlja izuzetnu kreaciju samu za sebe. Ona nije pribjegli eklektičkom metodu obrade pojedinih poglavlja po uzoru na neke od navedenih autora da tako dobije knjigu, već je stvarala udžbenik koji ima autentičnu lingvističku logiku, temeljnu naučnu elaboraciju, snažnu metodu zasnovanu, sve to uz poštovanje principa postupnosti i eksplikacije. Izbjegla je zavodljivosti tuđe interpretacije Čomskog, a pritom je Čomskog približila studentima tako da bez većih poteškoća mogu da nadgrade svoje znanje na nekom specijalizovanom kursu u zemlji ili inostranstvu. Bez obzira na to da li koristi strukturalni pristup određivanja forme, funkcije i pozicije date klase riječi ili metodu neposrednih konstituenata da izvrši analizu, na primjer, pridjevske fraze ili, pak, daje x-bar pravila za klauze — nema teorijske sinkope. Jedna oblast logički se nastavlja na drugu, ponuđena obrada jednog poglavlja bezbolno se nadgrađuje narednim poglavljem što treba da rezultira primjerenim znanjem studenta iz oblasti analize date strukture. Terminologija, definicije i aparatura analize u knjizi dati su tako da se korišćeni lingvistički modeli prelivaju jedan u drugi, dok knjiga zadobija svoj tok autentičnog udžbeničkog štiva. Uz to, stalno se osvjetljava logika sintaksičkih mehanizama što vodi jedinstvenom rezultatu, a to je dobar uvid u strukturu kroz testove konstituentnosti, kao i način na koji te jedinice nastaju i funkcionišu u jeziku. Taj dobar uvid autorka naročito postiže strukturiranjem obrade koja počinje uvodom u obradu fraze, klauze i rečenice (drugo poglavlje), a potpuniji uvid u njihov raznoliki unutrašnji sastav daje kroz osnovne tipove sintaksičke međuzavisnosti, a to su navedeni odnosi predikacije modifikacije, komplementacije i koordinacije, što predstavlja posebno vrijedan doprinos u ovom udžbeniku. Upravo odluka da najveći dio svoje sintaksičke obrade posveti mehanizmima i dubljim pokretačima koji generišu određene sintaksičke strukture čine ovaj udžbenik dominantno generativnim jer nije generativnost u gomilanju zagrada s desna i razgranatom drveću na kome cvjetaju riječi, već u logici koja oprema studenta da pravilno identifikuje strukture, pouzdano analizira konstrukcije, odnosno konstituente, i stiče sposobnost da to znanje prenese i primijeni. Ovaj fakultetski udžbenik na jedan nov i originalan način sintetizuje strukturalni metod i transformacionu teoriju, semantičke funkcije i tematske uloge u TGG, neposredne konstituente i dubinsku i površinsku strukturu. Rezultat je veoma

kvalitetan udžbenik koji je dugo očekivan na našim prostorima i koji će predstavljati veliko olakšanje za profesora i studente kada jednom postane obavezna literatura na studijama anglistike po bolonjskoj konvenciji. Teorijski duboko opravdano dr Biljana Mišić Ilić pomjera analizu tako što pažljivo bira definicije koje postaju prva naznaka teorije. Fraza tako biva definisana kao „sintaksička jedinica koja sadrži više od jedne reči i nedostaje joj subjekatsko-predikatski odnos“, a rečenica upravo biva prvenstveno definisana postojanjem subjekatsko-predikatskog odnosa što naglašava potrebu za identifikacijom konstituenata. Postupak kojim se dr Biljana Mišić Ilić služi u udžbeniku *Syntax for EFL students* je egzemplarno pedagoški fundiran jer svako poglavlje ima teorijsku platformu, elaboraciju kroz brojne primjere i, nadasve, potreban zaključak koji se u knjizi zove *summary*.

Iako udžbenik *Syntax for EFL students* nije kognitivno orijentisan u svojoj teoriji, on aktivira kognitivne mehanizme kod studenata koji putem analogija, otkrivanjem principa i pravila konstituentnosti, te pronicanjem u svojstvo generativnosti engleskog jezika postupno ovladavaju složenim organizmom ustrojstva rečenice, pritom ovladavajući sintaksičkom logikom i njenim pravilima. Napisati jedan ovakav univerzitetski udžbenik podrazumijevalo je jedno sjajno poznavanje savremene lingvističke teorije (što ubjedljivo pokazuje korišćena literatura), vrlo istančan sluh za njenu pedagošku primjerenost, ogromno iskustvo i veliki talenat lingviste da se sve to znanje uobliči tako da krajnji rezultat bude jedan veoma vrijedan udžbenik. Njegova primjenljivost prvazilaziće okvire anglističkih studija i biće dobrodošao svugdje gdje je potrebno da se nauči kako jezički mehanizam nadilazi puka pravila, a kvalitet generativnosti jezika određuje površinske realizacije naših doslovnih i prenesenih značenja. Tu potpadaju svi primjeri poređenja sa srpskim jezikom bilo da je u pitanju fraza, klauza ili rečenica. Atest njegove naučnosti biće u očekivanoj toploj dobrodošlici među studentima i profesorima, a mi smo sigurni da će stati rame uz rame sa najboljim primjercima udžbeničke literature u nas, a i šire.

## ■ KAKO SE UČIO JEZIK – POGLED U ISTORIJU GLOTODIDAKTIKE: OD PRAPOČETAKA DO DRUGOG SVETSKOG RATA

Julijana Vučo, *Kako se učio jezik - pogled u istoriju glotodidaktike od prapočetaka do Drugog svetskog rata*, Beograd, Filološki fakultet, 2009, 317

Knjiga dr Julijane Vučo bavi se učenjem i nastavom stranih jezika kroz istoriju, posmatrajući odnose društveno-istorijskih i civilizacijsko-kulturoloških veza.

Delo je podeljeno u pet poglavlja koja su naslovljena na sledeći način:

- I PRVI TRAGOVI: NEKADA DAVNO PRE ŠEST HILJADA GODINA
- II JEZIK KAO UZOR DRUGIMA: EGIPAT I GRČKA
- III LATINSKI, GRČKI I OSTALI: OD ANTIČKOG RIMA DO RENESANSE
- IV OD RENESANSE DO XIX VEKA: NE SAMO LATINSKI
- V DEVETNAESTI VEK: KA NOVOM METODU, KA NOVOJ NAUCI

Ovaj hronološki uvid u glotodidaktiku se završava pred početak Drugog svetskog rata, kada primenjena lingvistika počinje svoj razvoj kroz interakciju sa raznim drugim humanističkim i društvenim naukama i kada se formira Teorija usvajanja L1 i L2.

Autorka knjigu otvara nizom pitanja koja se iznova postavljaju svima nama kojima je ova materija bliska, ali i svima onima koji su bar na trenutak malo ozbiljnije razmišljali o jeziku i pitali se: „Ko uči strani jezik?... Gde se uči?... Ko može svemu tome da podučava?... Šta se događalo kroz istoriju?... Kako se učio jezik?...“ (14, 15). Na taj način se u ovoj knjizi i definiše glotodidaktika kao nauka. Govoreći dalje o terminu glotodidaktika, autorka razmatra njegovu teorijsku i praktičnu stranu, kao i mesto glotodidaktike među ostalim naukama.

Dr J. Vučo knjigu opisuje kao „hronološko putovanje kroz šest hiljada godina svedočanstava o učenju i nastavi stranih jezika“. (31)

U prvom poglavlju autorka nas podseća da je potreba za dvojezičnošću prirodna, bilo da se radi o ekonomskoj potrebi ili samo o razmeni ideja. Ali prve gramatike, kao na primer Paninijeva gramatika sanskrita, nisu bile namenjene učenju stranog jezika već opisivanju maternjeg jezika. To nam svedoči o tome da je čovek vrlo rano razmišljao o jeziku kao fenomenu.

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U knjizi autorka spominje dva perioda dvojezičnosti, period od pre nove ere i onaj posle nove ere. Za prvi period dr J. Vučo vezuje akadski, aramejski i grčki jezik, a za drugi period grčki, latinski i arapski.

Kada su sami počeci glotodidaktike u pitanju, teško je doneti istinite zaključke o tome i precizno opisati procese koji su bili deo učenja jezika, jer u tom periodu ne postoje pouzdani pisani podaci. Ipak, neosporno je da su se jako rano pojavile prve potrebe za učenjem jezika, pre svega potreba za usmenom komunikacijom, ali i za pismenom. Neosporno je i to da su naši preci poznavali više jezika, ali, kada su u pitanju metode učenja koje su koristili, ne može se mnogo toga pouzdanog reći. Na neka pitanja glotodidaktike se donekle i može odgovoriti. Na primer, zna se da su u ta drevna vremena strani jezik učili budući vladari, sveštenici, pisari i sl. Zna se i da se jezik učio iz starih književnih dela, prepisivanjem raznih tekstova...

U nastavku knjige autorka predstavlja najranije metode učenja jezika. U to vreme strani jezik se usvajao na isti način kao što se usvaja i maternji jezik jer su govornici bili u stalnom kontaktu sa jezikom, uronjeni u sredinu u kojoj se taj jezik govorio, a u školama su predavači stranog jezika bili izvorni govornici tog jezika. Prilikom učenja stranog jezika najviše pažnje posvećivalo se gramatici, ortografiji, leksici, čitanju i prevođenju. Čitanje naglas je bilo izuzetno cenjena jezička aktivnost. Smatralo se da ono doprinosi boljem izražavanju i razumevanju. Dosta toga je moralo da se nauči napamet, a gramatika je više bila vezana za pravilan izgovor. Retorika i filozofija imale su primat među nastavnim predmetima. Dijalozi koji su se učili napamet u tom periodu mogli bi da se poistovete sa onim što danas nazivamo 'role play'. Reči iz rečnika su se takođe učile napamet.

Početak smrti latinskog jezika je samo jedan od brojnih aspekata kojima autorka posvećuje pažnju u ovom delu knjige. Latinski jezik koji se smatrao večnim, počinje da se doživljava kao artifičijelan u poređenju sa narodnim govornim jezicima.

Renesansa, izuzetan period u ljudskoj istoriji, u svesti čoveka donosi promene koje se neizbežno odražavaju i na odnos prema učenju stranih jezika. U delu knjige posvećenom ovom periodu, pa sve do XIX veka, autorka se bavi brojnim pojedincima i njihovim uticajima. Nailazimo na imena poput Martina Lutera, Ser Tomasa Eliota, Viljema Bata, Džona Loka, Opata Pliša i mnogih drugih. Nimalo ne iznenađuje činjenica da se radi o ljudima koji „prevazilaze ograničenja pojedinačnih i različitih polja znanja i delanja.“ (120) U pitanju su humanisti, sveštenici, filozofi, pedagogi, diplomate, pisci, kartografi, matematičari. Za ovaj period vezujemo dve zasebne struje koje koegzistiraju i povremeno se prepliću. Tako je, sa jedne strane, učenje jezika imalo za cilj sticanje tzv. komunikativne kompetencije kako bi govornik mogao u različite svrhe da se koristi tim jezikom; dakle, u pitanju je bio praktičan cilj. Sa druge strane, učenje jezika imalo je i formalni cilj, tj. izučavanje gramatičkih pravila jednog jezika radi sticanja lingvističkih znanja.

U XIX veku nastaje gramatičko-prevodni metod koji i danas egzistira među onima koji smatraju da je učenje jezika intelektualna disciplina. Akcenat je ponovo bio na klasičnim jezicima, jer se mislilo da oni jačaju mentalnu snagu ljudi. Jezik se učio da bi se potvrdila sposobnost ljudskog uma. Gramatičko-prevodni metod gotovo u potpunosti izostavlja veštine govora i slušanja. Njegovi nedostaci su neosporni, ali on i dalje postoji. A onda krajem XIX i u prvoj polovini XX veka dolazi do pojavljivanja direktnog metoda,



koji se još naziva i prirodan, racionalan, moderan metod i koji se nastavlja na tradiciju funkcionalnog učenja jezika, njegove primene. U V poglavlju knjige nailazimo na imena kao što su Johan Hajnrh Zajdenstiker, Džejms Hamilton, Tomas Arnold, Klod Marsel itd.

Ono što ovoj knjizi znatno povećava vrednost jeste autorkina svest o tome da se pri proučavanju date teme nikako ne sme izostaviti politička, društvena i kulturna istorija sveta, i dr Julijana Vučo ih uspešno inkorporira u komplikovanu priču o učenju jezika kroz vekove. Koristan je i predlog autorke da se poslužimo nekim od izvora koje navodi ukoliko nas neka od navedenih činjenica naročito zainteresuje. U knjizi je dat naučno utemeljen prikaz svih postojećih dokumenata iz ove oblasti. Referentna literatura koja je zaista obimna, kao i preko pedeset internet adresa, idu u prilog izuzetnoj akademskoj kompetenciji dr Julijane Vučo.

Ovom knjigom obuhvaćen je široki geografski areal, kao i veliki hronološki okviri, ali se autorka u tom prostoru i vremenu odlično snalazi i ne samo da prepoznaje već i razume i tumači glotodidaktičku praksu iz prošlosti. Delo Julijane Vučo je pionirski pokušaj da se iz ugla savremene metodike sagleda istorijat nastave i učenja stranih jezika. Dr Vučo uspešno suprotstavlja učenje jezika sociokulturnom okruženju svake sredine i epohe koju u svojoj knjizi spominje. Autorka se bavi svim faktorima koji su uticali na nastavu stranih jezika kroz istoriju, a to su pre svega društveni uslovi, zatim, metodi, oblici i sadržaj nastave, ciljevi i zadaci, literatura korišćena u nastavi itd. Posebno je interesantno pratiti pojave novih metodoloških pravaca i trendova, njihovo smenjivanje i međusobne uticaje.

Dr Vučo odlučuje da svoje istraživanje zaustavi u trenutku velike istorijske krize, pred početak Drugog svetskog rata, kada nastaje novo doba u primenjenoj lingvistici. Šta se dešavalo od Drugog svetskog rata pa do danas ostaje tema za neko drugo istraživanje i nadamo se da će dr Juljana Vučo ispuniti obećanje dato na kraju knjige, i da će upravo to biti njen sledeći poduhvat.

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## ■ PHONETICS

Henning Reetz and Allard Jongman, *Phonetics: Transcription, Production, Acoustics, and Perception*, Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2008, 316

The full title of Henning Reetz and Allard Jongman's *Phonetics: Transcription, Production, Acoustics, and Perception* makes clear the main purpose the authors had in mind while writing this textbook. Namely, to provide a coherent description of phonetics in all of its four main areas. Many courses in phonetics focus on one or two of these areas, but Reetz and Jongman have found it "more rewarding to combine these subjects in a single course". The authors further add in the preface that "while [the book] is meant as an introductory course, many areas are discussed in more detail than it is typically the case for an introductory text." Indeed, at over three hundred pages, comprising thirteen chapters and three appendices the book provides a comprehensive overview of "this complex interdisciplinary subject". However, as we shall see, not all of the four areas mentioned above receive equal attention. The book employs a modular format so that later chapters are accessible even if some of the preceding chapters are skipped, and more advanced technical information is provided in the appendices. In addition, each chapter ends with a short list of exercise questions.

Chapter 1 (About this Book) provides a brief introduction to the subject matter, as well as an outline of the structure of the book. Chapter 2 (Articulatory Phonetics) covers the basic articulatory terms and the classification of speech sounds according to the place and manner of articulation. Chapter 3 (Phonetic Transcription) starts by briefly summing up the difference between broad and narrow transcription, and then proceeds to cover the main principles involved in transcribing English, using General American English as the reference model. Basic IPA symbols and diacritics are introduced, as well as the vowel quadrilateral. Chapter 4 (Place and Manner of Articulation of Consonants and Vowels) goes systematically through the transcription of many consonants of the world's languages. The IPA is given more attention than in the previous chapter. Chapter 5 (Physiology of the Vocal Apparatus) presents a detailed description of the anatomy of the respiratory system and the larynx, as well as mechanisms and principles involved in the vocal fold vibration. Chapter 6 (Airstream Mechanisms and Phonation Types) explains the alternative ways in which sounds can

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be produced, discusses clicks and implosives, as well as terms such as voicelessness, whisper, breathy voice and creaky voice. Aspiration and different VOT values are also given due consideration.

Chapter 7 (Basic Acoustics) elucidates the basic concepts of acoustics, such as the sound wave, principal dimensions used to define acoustic signals (frequency, amplitude and phase) and ways of measuring them. Chapter 8 (Analysis Methods for Speech Sounds) first deals with digitizing acoustic signals (explaining sampling rate and quantizing resolution); it then turns to methods that can be used to analyze complex signals, covering Fourier synthesis, analysis and transformation; finally, it explains the main concepts of spectral representation, such as ‘windowing’, waterfall, narrow and wide-band spectrogram and LPC (linear predictive coding) spectrum. Chapter 9 (The Source-Filter Theory of Speech Production) presents the acoustic theory of speech production based on concepts introduced in chapters 7 and 8. The concepts of resonance, damping, filters and formants are explained. Chapter 10 (Acoustic Characteristic of Speech Sounds) discusses the primary acoustic characteristics of speech sounds applying concepts and methods expounded on in the previous three chapters. Furthermore, it deals with identifying the spectrogram cues for different types of speech sounds. The final section of this chapter provides a flavour of the kinds of data that researchers use to address the nature of the mapping between the physically continuous signal and discrete linguistic categories (the theory of acoustic invariance is given the main focus).

Chapter 11 (Syllables and Suprasegmentals) finally shifts the perspective from individual elements to larger structures of speech. Stress, length, tone and intonation are all briefly discussed. Again, where possible, examples from General American English were used.

Chapter 12 (Physiology and Psychophysics of Hearing) lays out the structures of hearing organs, much like Chapter 5 did for the organs of speech production. The process of transforming sound waves into neural impulses is described in detail, with special attention provided for the subtle and intricate mechanisms of the inner ear. Finally, since human perception of the auditory frequency is relative and not absolute, some of different scales which maybe be used to represent frequency and amplitude are described here (logarithmic scale, mel scale, Bark scale). Chapter 13 (Speech Perception) reports on findings about the perception of speech, and the emerging consensus “about the nature of the acoustic properties that contribute to the perception of individual speech sounds or classes of speech sounds”. In the first section, which deals with perceptual cues to vowels, concepts such as vowel undershoot as well as extrinsic and intrinsic normalization are covered. Later in the chapter, the motor theory of speech perception by A. M. Liberman is discussed, which is followed by the explanation of the concept of categorical perception. Next, the question whether speech is ‘special’ is debated. Findings concerning speech perception and newly-born infants, as well of non-speech as perception and animal perception are brought up. The final portion of the chapter deals with the role of linguistic experience in speech perception and cross-language speech perception.

Appendices A and B provide general information on such physics concepts as mass, force, pressure, energy, power, intensity etc., with special attention paid to the decibel, RMS amplitude and calculations involving them.

What is apparent from the overview presented above, is the fact that the issues concerning phonology, transcription and suprasegmentals have been awarded the least thorough coverage, while the issues pertaining to acoustics were given prominence. The reason for this perhaps lies in authors' areas of interest. Henning Reetz (Professor at the Institute for Phonetics and Phonology at the University of Frankfurt, Germany) focuses his work mainly on articulatory and acoustic phonetics (especially with regard to automatic speech recognition), while Allard Jongman (Professor in the Linguistics Department of the University of Kansas) deals in the same areas of articulatory and acoustic phonetics, but focusing more on perception, especially in terms of cross-linguistic experiments and second language acquisition. Also, it seems that the few minor inaccuracies<sup>1</sup> present in the book are mostly found precisely in those chapters devoted to transcription and articulation. However, it is important to note that even when they provide only a cursory survey of the subject matter, the authors make sure to direct interested readers to the works that deal with those issues in detail.

The broadness and scope of Reetz and Jongman's textbook is truly refreshing. It is stimulating to be reminded just how germane the issues that psychology, anatomy and physics deal with are connected with the subject of phonetics. In conclusion, the authors admirably achieve the goals they set. Their in-depth introductory textbook is written in a clear and concise style, and provides an accessible source of information on the basic concepts of phonetics. Finally, a companion website is available at [www.blackwellpublishing.com/phonetics](http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/phonetics).

- 1 For example, classifying the vowel [ɔ] (as in *caulk*) as lax on p. 34, only to accurately describe it as tense on p. 35, or stating that *pot*, *palm* and *father* contain three distinct vowels in RP (p. 21), while in fact both *palm* and *father* have [ɑ:] in RP.

## ■ DELINEATING LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: RECOUNTING CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević (eds.), *Recounting Cultural Encounters*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, 205

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

In recent years, the issue of cultural encounters has been explored in its manifold aspects. Linguists, philologists, psychologists and anthropologists have joined in the heated and intense debate. The present book tries to resolve some of these issues while approaching the subject from an interdisciplinary point of view, and thus it pertains to an unusually wide field of linguistic, literary and cultural studies. Authors have made an attempt to formulate certain general principles which may be found applicable to the analysis in the context of cultural encounters. Pointing out that contributions in the book “highlight some of the wide ranging ways in which the issues of culture and identity can be approached in a literary text” while “focusing on the ways in which cultural encounters have been changing both the world and its reflection in the literature” the editors stress that “the beginning of the twenty first century is an appropriate time to repay careful attention to these issues” (p. 1). Aiming at “[u]nderstanding how our perception of the Other changed with the concept of the world we inhabit” the editors, Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević emphasise both “[t]he rising importance of fostering cultural pluralism and global understanding” (p. 1). Having based their research on extensive, far-reaching and widespread readings in academia, such as deconstruction, post-colonialism, post-modernism, new historicism, and narratology, the contributors in this book carry on by addressing the metaphor of travel as one of the strongest metaphors for the evolution of the mankind. Relevant to these various assorted and diversified approaches the contributors’ arguments go in favour of the interdisciplinary treatment of language and literature.

The book opens with the introduction written by Marija Knežević and Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević, where they sketch out the content of the book and concisely state objectives of certain authors and their respective methodologies. The book contains

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the Acknowledgments (p. vii), and a list of contributors (p. 195-199) and it ends with an index (p. 201-205). The rest of the book is organised into thirteen chapters. But, it seems to me that, irrespective of these chapters, the book may be further broken into five parts, each of which will be described separately.

## PART I – “WESTERN APPROACH TO THE BALKANS”

This part, consisting of four chapters, looks into the Western approach to the Balkans, predominantly focusing on the Anglo-American view of Montenegrin geographical, cultural and social space. It opens with Peter Preston’s paper entitled “Imagining Montenegro: From Tennyson to James Bond” (p. 9-30), which introduces four authors describing Montenegro: Rebecca West, Joyce Cary, and Jan and Cora Gordon, and concludes with the appearance of a “Montenegro of the mind” in *Casino Royale*, the recent James Bond film. In her paper, entitled “Montenegro as the Scene of Some Strange War Images in Joyce Cary’s *Memoir of the Bobotes*” (p. 31-48), Biljana Đorić-Francuski analyses Cary’s atypical and unusual response to the First Balkan War. Another original contribution is provided by Dr. Bojka Đukanović who explores the Montenegrin experience described by Henry Rushton Fairclough, a former USA commissioner to the Balkans, in her paper, entitled “A Stay in Montenegro – An American Impression” (p. 49-61). Pointing out the fact that Fairclough’s autobiography *Warming Both Hands* is “one of the most interesting books depicting the desperate situation, in which the Montenegrins found themselves in the aftermath of the World War I”, Dr. Đukanović further analyses the reminiscences of this author anchoring her investigation in the interdisciplinary context. In her paper, entitled “A Soul that Remembers Can Never Be Lost – Tragic Cultural Encounters in Albahari’s *Götz and Meyer*” (p. 63-78) Dr. Vesna Lopičić asserts that the concept of cultural encounters is primarily read in a predominantly positive context nowadays, although the connotations of creative exchange and constructive interactions may usually be considered inevitable. Her paper “[i]ntends to remind of perhaps the most tragic cultural encounter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Holocaust, as rendered in Albahari’s novel *Götz and Meyer*” while pointing out that David Albahari creates “[a] longer story in the same vein to tackle a very delicate cultural and historical moment: the extermination of Belgrade Jews in WW2” (p. 63). In addition to this, her paper examines the literary depiction of the tragic encounters from our recent history – the Jewish population in Belgrade, on one side, and the German soldiers ordered to drive the truck to the gas chamber, on the other – thus representing two conflicting cultures meeting in the course of the Second World War. Suffice it to say that David Albahari’s intention certainly is to emphasise the moral significance of the memory of this tragic episode, which simultaneously had both lasting and cultural consequences. Vesna Lopičić rightly concludes that “[t]he Holocaust of WW2, even in its local manifestation at the Fairgrounds camp in Belgrade, is a tragic cultural encounter” and that for Albahari “[i]t proves the meaninglessness of history which must not be disregarded” (p. 77).

## PART II – “THE POWER OF LANGUAGE OVER IDENTITY”

The first paper within this part is written by Dr. Biljana Čubrović. In her methodologically functional study, entitled “Twisting Cultural Stereotypes: Identifying Nations Linguistically” (p. 79-87), Dr. Čubrović explores certain cultural stereotypes of the British and Serbs as presented in Vesna Goldsworthy’s *Chernobyl Strawberries* (first published in English in 2005). Dr. Čubrović points out that “[d]ue to her language background and extensive life experience in Britain as her newly acquired country, Goldsworthy describes this country as well as Serbia through an interesting looking glass” (p. 79). Employing the analysis of linguistic means for culture depiction, the author of this study concludes that “English is undoubtedly considered to be a true international language of today, and that may be the reason for Goldsworthy’s choice of the medium” (p. 80). Dr. Biljana Čubrović has successfully fused linguistic analysis together with the literary one, which resulted in one more than original paper within this book. Another paper within this thematic part is Nadežda Stojković’s work, entitled “To Translate or Not To Translate – To Enrich or To Impoverish Identity” (p. 89-112), in which the author thoroughly observes the ways in which Hoffman employs the theme of an individual facing a sudden change in her linguistic surrounding due to her emigration, while presenting language as a medium of personal and collective identity.

## PART III – “AMERICAN SOIL AND CULTURE”

This part opens with Saša Simović’s paper, entitled “Transformations vs. Transformation” (p. 113-118) which introduces the ways in which Hawthorne’s romance contrasts two civilisations: the Eternal City of Rome, its tradition and experience, and Catholicism as opposing America’s youth, prosperity, ambition and Protestantism. Mirjana Daničić offers a powerful and important reminder of the history pertaining to African American women in her study, entitled “The New Cultural Politics: Encounters Between Race and Gender – Blackness and Feminism – in Toni Morrison’s Novels” (p. 119-128). Aiming at “[l]ooking for the theoretical framework for the issues of race and gender” Mirjana Daničić sets about exploring the “culture of difference” and has been drawn to this theory of “culture of difference” created by Cornel West, which “can be read as a manifesto for intellectuals working on behalf of the “culture of difference”” (p. 120). The main ideas of Mirjana Daničić, espoused in her study, argue for one specific literary theoretic approach, which has been promoted by the researcher herself.

## PART IV – “THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND INDIANS”

This part of the book brings together three chapters. It opens with Soumen Mukherjee’s paper, entitled “The Cultural Perspective of Indian Society as Revealed in Arundhanti Roy’s *The God of Small Things*” (p. 129-138). This author pinpoints the sea change in the social, political, religious, economic and scientific fields, which India

is undergoing at the moment and which are aptly captured and highlighted in Roy's novel. Aleksandra Jovanović explores why and how the characters of Rushdie's novel travel in order to find the meaning of existence. This is sufficiently explained in her paper, entitled "The Quest for the Centre in Rushdie's Novel *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*" (p. 139-146). This part closes with Marija Knežević's paper, entitled "The Strange Meeting of Arthur and George in Julian Barne's *Arthur and George*" (p. 147-170) in which she explores several traditional genre narratives making thus specific literary analysis searching for the basis of a humanistic discourse.

## PART V – "THE POSTMODERN ISSUES OF CLASHES AND INTERACTION BETWEEN POPULAR AND HIGH CULTURE"

This final part of the book begins with the paper, entitled "Sympathy for the Devil: Gurus and Shamans in Nineteen-Sixties Music and Literature" (p. 171-181) in which Victor Kennedy examines the appeal of the gurus and shamans in the songs of the sixties and how encounters with these characters have come to resemble fictional encounters with the devil. The final paper, entitled "Intertextuality and the Construction of Authorship in J. M. Coetzee's Nobel Lecture "He and His Man"" (p. 183-193), looks into undermining all traditional conventions of inaugural speeches, while tracing the metaphors provided by Coetzee to conceptualise the notions of author and authorship.

## EVALUATION

The argumentation of the papers presented in this collection is strongly founded in recent literary studies and humanities in general. Each chapter contains authors' reasonable, logical and well-constructed conclusion. Not only are the actual global problems of abrupt cultural change and exchange observed, clarified and illustrated when introduced, but each chapter provides a well-balanced explanation referring to all these phenomena. Needless to say, on the whole, the overall value of the book is pretty high, although certain ideas might be further elaborated in some future explorations. Despite the fact that further broadening is a most welcome expectation, it seems that this book might be more than a good start.





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## ■ REPORT ON THE 2009 CONFERENCE OF THE POPULAR CULTURE ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN CULTURE ASSOCIATION

The joint conference of the Popular Culture Association (PCA) and the American Culture Association (ACA) (their 39<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> annual conferences respectively) was held in New Orleans from April 8-11, 2009, in the New Orleans Marriot Hotel. The city does not appear to have fully recovered from the effects of hurricane Katrina, as there were boarded up buildings not far from the conference hotel, but it was nice to walk around the French Quarter. This was a very large conference for those used to linguistics conferences, with hundreds of sessions – looking at the schedule now I see that there were more than 35 concurrent sessions in some time slots. The quantity of papers presumably is responsible for what one might see as a disadvantage of the conference, the early start and late end of the day in terms of sessions, beginning at 8 a.m. three out of the four days of the conference, including on Saturday), and finishing at 10 p.m. three days -- it takes considerable motivation to stay at sessions until 10 p.m. and be back the next morning at 8 a.m. (In 2008 my paper was in one of the 8 a.m. Saturday sessions, and I would have preferred a later session as it would have been more likely to have attracted a larger audience).

Many different fields were treated, as can be seen from the titles of some of the sessions: *Latin American Literature & Culture I*, *Appalachian Studies*, *Jack London's Life & Work I: California and the Ocean*, *Travel & Tourism I: Local Cuisine for the Tourist*, *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers IV*, *Special Session: Hate Speech*, *Southern Literature & Culture IX: Reflections and Medium*, *Mystery and Detective Fiction IX: Historical Perspectives*, *Circus & Circus Culture I*, *Motorcycling Culture and Myth I: Reasons for Riding*, *Sports V: Baseball I*, *Fat Studies IV: Tight Fit: The Mental and Physical Experiences of Being Fat*. I did not attend any of the above-mentioned sessions, but it is interesting to know that there were such sessions (I had not even known that there was a field called Fat Studies until I saw the program for the 2008 conference). Three sessions were on *Disasters & Culture*, a particularly appropriate topic in New Orleans, one might think, and indeed one of these sessions was on *Mediating Katrina*. There were also various social events, two of which I attended, the PCA/ACA Annual Reception and the Philosophy & Popular Culture Philosophical Walk. The latter is actually a pub crawl, which perhaps could be considered a “philosophical walk”, and it may be a regular event at this conference, as I also went on such an excursion at the 2008 conference in San Francisco.

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Of course one could only attend a fraction of the sessions and talks on offer. Two of the sessions that I went to were in the *Philosophy & Popular Culture* area, the first being *Philosophy and the Comics*, which began with "The Disruptions of Zippy the Pinhead" by Ellen Grabiner. *Zippy* is arguably one of the most philosophical cartoons around, so it is not surprising that it was treated in such a session. Perhaps less expected objects of study for philosophers (at least for those who are not much involved in the field of popular culture) are old Warner Brothers television cartoons such as *Roadrunner*, which was a major topic of the talk by Izar Lunacek, "The Comic Object in the Golden Age of the Theatrical Cartoon". The second philosophy session that I attended was *Philosophy and Cinema, II*, and included a paper by Taylor Hughey with the imposing title "*Curb Your Enthusiasm*, Hermeneutics, and the Hidden in the Familiar". The television show *South Park* might seem to be an obvious topic in a conference on popular culture, though perhaps not in a session on philosophy, but it made an appearance in the first paper of the session, "O My God, They Killed Babies: A Look into Swift's 'Modest Proposal' and *South Park*" by Greg Dedrick.

Linguistics sessions at the conference went under the heading *Language Attitudes & Popular Linguistics*. I attended only one of these sessions, the second one, *Border Crossings*, at which I presented my own paper ("Vecturism & Sociolinguistics"). The two other talks given in this session were "Frederick, MD: The Hispanic Press and the Hispanics in the Press" by Agnes Ragone and "*PSYCH*, You thought this show was in English!" by James G. Mitchell. After this session I had lunch in a nearby restaurant with some of the other linguistics people, including Patricia Donaher, the organizer of the linguistics sessions.

In the session *Libraries, Archives, Museums, & Popular Research I: Image: Analysis and Control* there was a talk on one of the most unusual subjects I have ever heard discussed in a conference, "Dressing your Ice Age Giant Ground Sloth" by Kendra Greene. It was about what happened after clothes were put on a replica of the prehistoric sloth *Megalonyx jeffersonii* in the University of Iowa Museum of Natural History; in fact, a variety of clothes have been worn by this sloth. The other papers in this session were about how librarians are represented, by themselves or by others, and included "The Image of the Librarian in Advertising" by Katherin Dodds.

Games, at least computer games, are an important part of contemporary popular culture, and so it is not surprising that this conference had sessions devoted to them. At the session that I attended, *Game Studies I: Crossing Media Boundaries*, David Dubin presented his paper "On the Expressive Content of Games".

There were some sessions on *Eastern European Studies*. I attended a paper delivered in one of these sessions, "Communist Summer Camp: Getting away from it all in the GDR at Camp Mitschurin" by Catherine Plum. Another East European session, which I did not attend, included the paper "Cultural Effects of Artistic-activistic Works Aimed at Promotion of Women's and Minorities' Rights, Belgrade, Serbia 2003-2007" by Jelena Veljic.

The PCA would like there to be a popular culture association in Australia, and, as in 2008, I was present at a meeting for Australian attendees of the conference which was held by John Bratzel, the executive director of the PCA, aimed at furthering this goal.

This conference, like many other conferences, had a room for book displays, in there which was something I do not recall having seen outside of PCA/ACA conferences,

a “Paper Table”, to which presenters could donate their papers to be sold to raise money for the PCA/ACA Endowment (which supports work on popular and American culture).

Based on my experiences in 2009 and 2008, I would recommend attending the annual PCA/ACA conferences. There are sessions for many interests, so one will probably find something appealing. As far as I can tell, the papers are not peer reviewed (at least those for the linguistics sessions do not seem to be) and there is no conference proceedings, but one could submit a paper to the journals of the associations involved, *The Journal of Popular Culture* and *The Journal of American Culture*. The 2010 and 2011 conferences will be in St. Louis and San Antonio respectively.

## ■ STRATEGIES FOR OPTIMIZING THE QUALITY STANDARD IN HIGHER EDUCATION ESP

Starting from the premise that English represents a key factor in enhancing the attractivity, competitiveness and cooperation of Higher Education institutions while ensuring international mobility for future specialists, Dimitrie Cantemir University from Targu Mures organized the first one-day exploratory ESP (English for Specific Purposes) workshop entitled "Strategies for Optimizing the Quality Standard in Higher Education ESP" on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2009 (<http://espworkshop.mures.orizont.net>). The workshop addressed methods, strategies and tools which have a potential impact on the quality of English language services in higher education for non-philological specializations, on the quality of ESP research and ESP teacher training.

Rapid changes in the field of IT have a profound impact on EFL/ESP methodologies and strategies, prompting the promotion of strategies such as "blended learning", synchronous (teleconferences, chat) and asynchronous applications (Moodle platforms, wikipedias, blogs, opinion forums, e-mail exchanges), multimedia educational tools, etc. These strategies become desiderata for foreign language instruction in higher educational institutions as they: a) answer the massification trends of higher education; b) comply with the current student's "digital-native" status and enhance learning motivation; c) perform the transition towards communicative teaching/learning and stimulate reflection and critical thinking; d) encourage cooperation and collaboration through team work and networking; e) involve strategy rather than knowledge learning; f) provide systematic feed-back and allow asynchronous monitoring by the teacher; g) enhance learner autonomy.

The organizing of this event reflects the ongoing efforts by Dimitrie Cantemir University to identify the most effective, evidence-based strategies for optimizing the quality standard in ESP education, ESP teacher training and continuous development, as well as ESP scientific research in an international dimension. The main objectives of the workshop were: 1) to identify evidence-based state of the art strategies, models of good and best practices, creative tools that can lead to excellence in ESP teaching in the applying institutions; 2) to support teacher growth and collaboration while building a network of ESP professionals (<http://group.yahoo.com/groups/ESP-RO>); 3) to disseminate the workshop research results through publication in an ISBN volume.

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The papers were presented in four parallel sections (ESP quality standard and research, Curriculum design and CEFR, Material design and strategies, and ICT-based instruction and research) and in two sessions (morning and afternoon). The research paper content reflected issues of: quality assurance, assessment and enhancement of ESP quality; curriculum design for business, judiciary officers, tourism, police, engineering, and horticulture; materials development: worksheet design, video tools, corpus in ESP; compliance with CEFR standards, learner autonomy; blended learning; communicative competence; content-based and syntax-based approaches to ESP; experiential learning; class observation; effective skills in corporate communication; structure of ESP texts; adult learning pedagogy, teacher training and continuous development.

Stronger points of the workshop emerged from the international perspective and interdisciplinary approach towards ESP issues. Attendees included specialists in quality management of language services, quality control, pedagogy, PhD coordinators, CLIL specialists, researchers and ESP practitioners, PhD students, from Czech Republic, Croatia, United Kingdom, Georgia, Latvia, North Cyprus, Turkey, Thailand, as well as from Romanian university centers with long-standing traditions in ESP (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Timisoara, Iasi, Arad, as well as Targu Mures).

The plenary session included presentations by key speakers from Romania (Prof. Laura Muresan, Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies), United Kingdom (James Fenton, Westminster Kingsway College) and Georgia (Lela Abdushelishvili, Caucasus University of Tbilisi). For the first time in our organizational history, the workshop benefitted from two online presentations: 1) Prof. Teresa Almeida D'Eca (Lisbon, Portugal, coordinator of the Webheads Community of Practice) who introduced state-of-the-art Web 2.0 applications to enhance language learning (voice, text, interactive exercises, blogs, wikis); 2) Ivana Simonova, PhD, who presented the ICT and research implications for ESP at Hradec Kralove University, Czech Republic.

Papers reflecting on ESP teacher training and continuous development were also presented in the poster session, either as traditional or computer-based posters. The workshop programme included a round table discussion and a brainstorming session on future research projects and collaboration networks, as well as an ESP Fair/Exhibition of real and virtual applications, advertising materials, coursebooks, and Garnet publications.

The papers from the event were published in the workshop volume: *Strategies for Optimizing the Quality Standard in Higher Education ESP* (Risoprint Publ., Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 2009, ISBN: 978-973-53-0069-2, 260 pages, 35 papers) and it was distributed at the event.

The social programme on the second day of the event included a sightseeing tour of Targu Mures and a trip to the Medieval town of Sighsoara (a uniquely inhabited medieval town 50 km away from Targu Mures) as well as a farewell lunch providing further opportunities for networking and consolidating the professional bonds which had been built up over the two days.

The workshop benefitted from the support of an ETS/TOEFL-USA international speaker grant and proved to be a venue for sharing and receiving feedback on professional ideas on ESP methods and strategies, research and teacher training, while providing an opportunity for the development of future ESP collaboration and projects.

## Workshop breaks



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## ■ FASL 18

The eighteenth FASL (Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics) meeting took place at Cornell University (Ithaca, New York) between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 2009. The meeting was sponsored by the Cornell University Department of Linguistics and Department of Russian. The Organizing Committee co-chairs were professors Wayles Browne and Draga Zec (Cornell University Department of Linguistics). Four graduate students from the same department (Adam Cooper, Alison Fisher, Esra Kesici and Nikola Predolac) helped them with the organization.

As the most important conference on Slavic formal linguistics in North America and one of the most important in the world, this year's FASL offered 37 presentations (32 talks and 5 posters) of relatively high-level quality. These presentations were distributed in sessions such as Syntax, Semantics, Syntax and Semantics, Phonology, and Interfaces. There were 46 participants in total, with scholars coming from research institutions in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Israel, South Korea and Japan. The invited speakers were: Barbara Citko (University of Washington), Molly Diesing (Cornell University) and Jaye Padgett (University of California, Santa Cruz). All talks at the conference were held in the same room, without any parallel sessions.

The first day of the conference officially started with short welcoming remarks to the participants from Wayles Browne. The whole day consisted of syntax and semantics sessions. In the first talk of the conference, named *More students attended FASL than CONSOLE*, Roumyana Pancheva (University of Southern California) argued in favor of the small-clause analysis of phrasal comparatives (=the construction used in the title of the talk), based on the data from Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish, English, Hindi and Japanese. The following talk was given by Radek Šimík (University of Groningen) and it was concerned with how the focus placement affects the interpretation of multiple *wh*-questions cross-linguistically, with the crucial original data for the proposal coming from Czech. Sandra Stjepanović (West Virginia University) gave a talk on Left-Branch Extraction in multiple *wh*-questions with the data coming from Serbian/Croatian. Martina Gračanin-Yüksek (Middle East Technical University) proposed an account of object *što*-relative clauses in Croatian. Octav Eugen DeLazero (Cornell University) talked about the semantics of motion verbs in Russian. The last talk of the day was given by Barbara Citko (University of Washington), one of the invited speakers. Her talk named *Symmetry in Syntax?* was

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a very broad discussion of possible symmetry in minimalist syntactic operations such as Merge and Move, and also Labeling. She argued that symmetry exists in each of the three, giving a wide range of constructions from various languages (not only Slavic) to support her claims.

The second day included three sessions. While the morning session was again dedicated to syntax and semantics, the two afternoon sessions included talks on phonology and various interfaces. The first session started with a talk given by Boban Arsenijević (University of Amsterdam), in which he gave an analysis of Serbian coordination, deriving all conjunctions from two basic conjunctions *i* and *a*, the negative element *n* (as in *n-i*), and the clitic *li*, associated with extreme scalar values (as in *i-li* and *a-li*). The presenter also offered an intriguing hypothesis that disjunction is not a primitive cognitive operation, but one derived from syntactic configurations. The following talk was given by Chris LaTerza (University of Maryland, College Park) and Ivana Mitrović (Stony Brook University), who proposed a syntax-semantics-interface account for singular and plural reciprocal phrases in Serbian (e.g. *jedan drugog, jedni druge*). The last talk of this session was *The aspectual function of Slavic inceptive morphemes* by Larissa Nossalik (McGill University), in which she argued that inceptive morphemes, i.e. morphemes that encode the initial point of an event, are telicity markers, supporting her claims with the evidence from Russian. The phonology session started with Barttomiej Czaplicki's (University of Warsaw) talk, in which he presented evidence from a Polish dialect that contrast neutralization results from weak perceptibility. In the talk named *Interactions of tone and stress in Standard Serbian: phonological and phonetic evidence*, Draga Zec (Cornell University) and Elizabeth Zsiga (Georgetown University) proposed an Optimality Theory analysis for the system of pitch accents in standard Serbian, fully informed by both its phonetic and phonological aspects. The last talk of the session, by Markéta Ziková (Masaryk University), was concerned with pre-liquid yers in Old Czech. Among the talks in the session Interfaces, I will also mention the talk *Prosodic Description of Scopally Ambiguous Sentences in Russian* by Svitlana Antonyuk-Yudina (SUNY Stony Brook) and Asya Pereltsvaig's (Stanford University) talk on heterogeneous and the homogeneous case distributions in Russian quantified noun phrases, named *Babby's puzzle: syntax or morphology?* A well-received talk by the invited speaker Jaye Padgett (University of California, Santa Cruz) was the last presentation of the day. The talk was named *Russian consonant-vowel interactions and derivational opacity* and it contained a historical overview of formal approaches to Russian facts involving the interaction of vowel and consonant [back]ness (secondary palatalization, [i]-retraction, 'backness switch', etc.). The talk also suggested a contemporary-style surface-based account for the relevant data without call to serialism.

The second day officially ended with an excellent banquet dinner at Cornell's Statler Hotel. For many participants, socializing continued in Ithaca bars until late into the night.

The final day of the conference consisted of several talks on syntax and semantics, given by some of the regular FASL participants. The first talk of the day was concerned with Slovenian data, with the title *Two types of neuter: Second-conjunct agreement in the presence of '5 and ups'* by Franc Marušič (University of Nova Gorica) and Andrew Nevins (Harvard University). This was followed by a presentation by Miloje Despić (University

of Connecticut), who offered an elegant unified account for several phenomena in Serbian morphology related to plurality, gender and possessive adjectives. As the invited speaker for the day, Molly Diesing (Cornell University) presented findings on Serbian second-position clitics from joint work with Draga Zec (Cornell University) and Dušica Filipović-Đurđević (University of Novi Sad). The findings, based on corpora data and production and perception experiments, call for a four-way distinction in clitic placement. These differences were shown to correlate with the syntactic status of the category being followed or split by the clitic (i.e. argument or predicate) and different discourse conditions (neutral vs. marked contexts). The next talk was *What's Inside VP? New Evidence on VP Internal Structure in Russian*, given by John Frederick Bailyn (Stony Brook University), in which he provided new evidence for the claim that the accusative argument is structurally higher than the dative argument within the VP. In the last presentation of the conference, Denis Paperno (University of California, Los Angeles) talked about some semantic properties of Hybrid Coordination constructions with various sorts of quantifiers, showing that they can all be analyzed using quantifier resumption.

I did not do justice to some good presentations which I did not mention due to the very limited space in this report. FASL 18 was certainly a very successful and pleasant meeting. Let us hope that the conference will be able to last through current financial difficulties.

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## ■ INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO SPIRITUALITY IN THE LITERATURES OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING WORLD

Vienna Conference, July 6-9, 2009

For four days the Department of English of the University of Vienna was an oasis of spirituality hosting the international conference "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Spirituality in the Literatures of the English Speaking World". The conference was organized in collaboration with University of Nancy 2, France, and University Paul Verlaine, Metz, France, – the latter having a research center on "Literature and Spirituality" – and aimed at convening scholars from all over the world to exchange the results of their research in the domain. The event was made possible due to Dr. Franz Woehrer, University of Vienna, who conceived and organized the entire activity with the assistance of Dr. John Bak, University of Nancy 2.

Faith, mysticism, creativity, eternity through spirituality, which brought together scholars from different domains (literature, philosophy, theology, linguistics), mingled within the labyrinthine university campus that inspiringly harmonized gardens with fountains, statues and buildings, echoing past and present, concrete and abstract in the spirit of the conference. The participants, who came from thirty-one countries, tackled the theme of spirituality from different perspectives and as reflected in various cultural contexts (British, American, Canadian, Australian, etc.). As a consequence, the concatenation of the presentations was arranged so as to naturally and coherently flow from general and theoretical papers on spiritual experience and the understanding of this concept to papers exploring spirituality in literary works. The scholars' contributions led to the harmonious interlacing of the sections according to diachronic and synchronic principles: from aboriginal spirituality to contemporary spirituality and from male fiction to women writers and to literature for children.

The first day opened with a section on "The Creative Mind and Spiritual Experience", whose papers mainly focused on the relation between painting and literature, between the visual and the audible in the spiritual experience shaped due to the artists' creative – re-creative minds. Transgressing temporal limits and the limits of the artistic manifestations of spirituality in literature and painting, Francis Bacon's *Utopia* (17<sup>th</sup> c)

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was compared with Francis Bacon's abstract painting (20<sup>th</sup> c) and a parallel between the way in which William Blake illustrated John Bunyan's *The Pilgrims Progress* and a religious allegory of the seventeenth century was built.

The participants of the second section delivered papers related to Sufi mysticism and Hindu mysticism as reflected in literatures in English. They demonstrated how Sufism influenced both West Asian and British and American literatures over centuries from Shakespeare to Byron, Emerson and Doris Lessing and how philosophy, religion and mysticism intermingled in Sri Chinmoy's poetry.

Spiritual and pseudo-spiritual contemporary literature challenged the participants to attempt an answer to various re-writings and distortions of the Biblical messages twisted through postmodern technical devices. The speakers emphasized the relation between author, postmodern devices and the horizon of expectation with reference to spirituality by focusing on works by Monty Python, Jeanette Winterson, Robert Harrison, etc. They also discussed the philosophical questions of good and evil and the relation between postmodern irony and spirituality.

The interdisciplinary approaches of the second day's opening section extended the research area to sociology and politics being centered on postmodern utopian texts, on gender and cultural spirituality in relation with Indian women and on incarnation and the spirit of the social revealed as a result of the use of theology and literary criticism as a reading grill for social scientific writings.

Whereas the above-mentioned ideas had established a net of spiritual experiences and their relations with different domains of research (theology, philosophy, sociology, painting, literature), the following papers would provide more insightful approaches to literary works. An entire section is dedicated to the role of aboriginal spirituality and its representations in Australian literature, while also initiating the audience in the Native-Canadians' cosmological view. Early representations of spirituality in the works of the Medieval English mystics were approached from a linguistic perspective and from a psychoanalytic one revealing "the castrating function of mystical vision" in Camille DeVilleneuve's opinion (*École Pratique des Hautes Études*).

The next section was dedicated to John Donne, George Herbert and Richard Crashaw showing the intertwining of physical pain and mystical experience and having as a source the late Medieval Catholicism. Starting from psychology and Christian theology, some features of the "Divine presence" as mystical experience were identified in George Herbert's poetry.

The last group of scholars scheduled for the second day delivered papers on spirituality in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century English poetry. The problem of artistic identity arising from spatial and ideological isolation and implying speculations on the audience was debated in relation with or against the spiritual poetic personas in works written by Christopher Smart, William Wordsworth and Chiang Yee, Coleridge and John Donne. Spirituality assuring the communion artist – space was extended to the correspondence between Blake's poems and his paintings and drawings reflecting his spiritual theory of vision.

The third day of the conference offered sessions on spirituality in 19<sup>th</sup>-century American literature and in Modern British, Irish and American literature. Hardy's work was interpreted as an example of the author's criticism of the church, which should not

be seen as an attitude against religion. James Joyce's works from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake* were explored on the speaker's quest for the edicts presented by Andrea Bennet and Nicholas Royle and for experiences to affirm or to negate spirituality.

Representatives of Modern writers and their works constitute the central topic of the next section. Stevie Smith's poetry and manifestations of spirituality were analyzed by contrasting female experience and male religious authority. In an interdisciplinary approach to Margaret Atwood's work it was demonstrated that religion and spirituality do not overlap. The African spiritual belief in temporal simultaneity which is translated into the coexistence of the dead, the living and the unborn was identified in Tony Morrison's fiction. The spiritual power of Morrison's novels was also seen as a response to the historical trauma of the African-American people.

On the last section of the third day the speakers illustrated spirituality in Emily Dickinson's poetry either as an identity problem perceived from a psychoanalytic perspective or as a spiritual alienation. Starting from Northrop Frye's *Words with Power* and the "authority" of literary language, the concepts of myths, metaphor and verbal mode were used to show the relation between the Biblical intertext and the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, F. S. Fitzgerald and Toni Morrison.

The last day of the conference brought the participants closer to their times by exploring the works of twentieth-century and contemporary writers. Ellen Glasgow's work, partly reflective of spiritual insights, was seen as a quest for heaven. Spiritual journeys were also explored in Zora Neale Hurston's novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and in Fanny Howe's fiction. The spiritual potential of the contemporary American male fiction was presented as an attempt to re-write the Book by considering the twentieth-century cultural context in John Updike's *In the Beauty of the Lilies* and as an example of comprehensive spirituality, which explained the fact that a core common to Christian, Buddhist, Vedantic and Sufist traditions could be identified in Jerome D. Salinger's work. The *Left Behind* series of Apocalyptic novels covering the last seven years on Earth was presented as a mixture of fiction and Fundamentalist theology.

The closing section of the conference was a cross-cultural reception of spirituality ranging from contemporary Caribbean literature as a recipient of cultures and religions that revealed a hybrid identity, to a linguistic approach meant to demonstrate the risk that English runs in the translations of Buddhist works. Concluding the programme of the conference and also assuring its cyclicity by announcing a new beginning, literature for children was presented as a means to shape young readers' understanding of the spiritual, ideas supported with examples from *The Chronicles of Ancient Darkness* by Michelle Paver.

The social programme of the conference made the participants continue to share their ideas on spirituality beyond the walls of the University of Vienna. The concert at Vienna State Opera on the first day and an inspiring excursion to Heiligenkreuz Abbey, a Cistercian monastery founded in 1133, organized on the third day enhanced the touch of spirituality the participants contributed to. Animated by vivid debates and discussions, the conference whose architecture rendered it unitary and comprehensive at the same time should be perceived as a great contribution to spirituality as expressed in literature. For further details concerning the participants and the programme of the conference the website [http://anglistik.univie.ac.at/uploads/media/PROGRAMME-Printed\\_Version.pdf](http://anglistik.univie.ac.at/uploads/media/PROGRAMME-Printed_Version.pdf) can be visited.





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